THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 150 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · MAY 11, 1940 NUMBER 19

The Shape of Things

ACCORDING TO OUR PRIVATE TICKER THE week's Presidential market closed with sharp gains for Hull and Willkie, with Dewey strong and holding his own, Taft and Vandenberg down a few points, Wheeler still in the running, Jackson and McNutt feeble, faint signs of life in Roberts, and Garner about to flicker off the curb. Still topping the list is Roosevelt Preferred. The Hull boom gets its strength from the increasingly wide belief that if the President rejects the nomination and attempts to throw his mantle over the shoulders of another, they will be the shoulders of his Secretary of State. Despite his age and political reticence, Hull is considered a good vote-catcher. A recent Gallup poll, in fact, credits him with more strength than Roosevelt in a hypothetical contest against Taft. The theory is that Roosevelt's blessing would give him as many Democratic votes as the President himself would draw, and that his cautious, mildly conservative nature would satisfy twice as many disgruntled Republicans. The Wendell Willkie talk has lost its virgin archness and become hopefully serious. Rank-and-file Republican sentiment for Dewey has jolted the G. O. P. bosses into the conviction that if the rambunctious gang-buster is to be stopped, the job had better be intrusted to someone more appealing than Taft or Vandenberg. Willkie is the beau ideal of the "enlightened" business community and is said to have made deep inroads from Wall to La Salle Street. In an almost Munich-like pact with the White House, Vice-President Garner has agreed to call off his "Stop Roosevelt" campaign. The Roosevelt lieutenants, in return, will permit him to enjoy the status of Texas's favorite son on the first ballot—provided Roosevelt is not being nominated by acclamation before "T" is reached on the roll call.

✶

AN UNNECESSARY AMOUNT OF EXCITEMENT appears to have been created by the President's proposal to merge the Air Safety Board with the Civil Aeronautics Authority and to make the reconstituted agency a bureau of the Department of Commerce. Objections were first voiced by various bodies connected with civil aviation. Their arguments boiled down to a contention that the CAA had done a supremely good job—which is not disputed—and that it was advisable to let well enough alone. Congressional critics of the Administration then jumped in and sought to raise a political issue by linking the controversy with the air-mail scandals of 1934, which occurred while the Department of Commerce still controlled civil aviation. Faced by this attack the President has struck back, charging his opponents with misrepresentation. A memorandum drawn up by the Bureau of the Budget recommending the reorganization of the CAA shows plainly that Mr. Roosevelt is not being capricious. It points out that the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 provided for the CAA, the Air Safety Board, and an administrator. The first body was intended to exercise only quasi-legislative and judicial functions, including the prescription of safety rules; the second was charged solely with the investigation of accidents; and the administrator's office was to be purely executive. However, the act was not very clearly drafted and, in fact, assigned a number of executive duties to the CAA, which was further diverted from its proper province by the Civilian Pilot Training Act of 1939. In proposing the absorption of the Air Safety Board by the CAA, the memorandum argues that the authority charged with investigating accidents should also have power to promulgate rules to prevent them. So far as its regulatory functions are concerned, the CAA will remain independent of the Department of Commerce. On the other hand, it will receive representation in the Cabinet, and in view of the growing importance of civil aviation this seems entirely desirable.

✶

THE FIASCO OF THE NORWEGIAN CAMPAIGN has brought upon the British government the sharpest attack it has encountered since the war. But Mr. Chamberlain has a catlike capacity for survival, and at the time of going to press—which is necessarily just before the House of Commons opens its debate on Norway—London dispatches suggest that he will remain in control a while longer. Over the week-end there have been many speeches from Labor and Liberal leaders calling for resig-

Published weekly and copyright, 1940, in the U. S. A. by The Nation, Inc., 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1897, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1897.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nation of the government. Some newspapers which normally support Mr. Chamberlain have also been strongly critical. But there are few signs of revolt among the rank-and-file Tories, who, however much they grumble off the record, still seem unwilling to turn on their Birmingham shepherd. Rumors abound that Mr. Chamberlain may seek to appease dissatisfied public opinion by yet another reshuffle of the Cabinet. But as Al Smith once remarked, "However thin you slice it. . . ." There can be little hope of a genuine reconstruction without recognition of the small group of independent Tories who have hitherto been passed over because they refused to toe the party line. The London *Times* is urging the Labor Party to permit its leaders to join the government, but it is difficult to see how they could reconcile their attacks on Chamberlain with acceptance of office under his leadership.

✶

A DISPATCH FROM MADRID TELLS US THAT Franco expects to get a credit of $86,000,000 from the United States, presumably from the Export-Import Bank. No details of the negotiations are cited, but the Franco press is loud in praise of Ambassador Weddell, who sailed last week for a "vacation" in this country. Last year, it will be recalled, Franco received a $13,500,000 cotton credit out of the money which had been appropriated for use in checking fascist influence in South America. It would be ironical indeed if the lion's share of this year's Export-Import Bank appropriation, which was designed to aid the protection of democracy in Scandinavia, should find its way to fascist Spain.

✶

MEXICO SCORED AN IMPRESSIVE VICTORY in the long-drawn-out oil controversy last week when, on the eve of the publication of its reply to Secretary Hull's request for arbitration, it reached a settlement with the Sinclair interests. The agreement assures Mexico of an outlet for some $55,000,000 worth of oil over a five-year period, and thus breaks the concerted boycott through which the American oil companies have been seeking to force the Mexican government to its knees. It also gives point to the contention of Foreign Secretary Hay in his note to Secretary Hull that the issue is a domestic one capable of settlement by direct negotiation with the claimants. Secretary Hay's basic argument seems unassailable. While not denying the usefulness of arbitration as a means of settling disputes of this general character, he declares that it should not be resorted to until full use has been made of the normal domestic channels and "the existence of a denial of justice can be proved." In this case the oil companies themselves are chiefly responsible for the court's delay in appraising the value of the expropriated oil properties. The appraisal is now expected before the end of this month, and there is every reason to believe that a settlement can be reached by the end of the year, provided the remaining American companies honestly desire it.

✶

A TURNING POINT IN JAPANESE-AMERICAN relations is confidently predicted in Tokyo as a result of a resumption of discussions between Foreign Minister Arita and Ambassador Grew. While the details of the preliminary conversations have not been revealed, it can be safely assumed that whatever concessions have been made have not been made by Japan. With the establishment of the Wang Ching-wei puppet regime at Nanking a month ago, Japan rejected in theory as well as in fact the basic treaty rights held by Americans in China. There is not the slightest indication that it is prepared to retreat from this position. Nor has there been any let-down in the struggle against China. Major Japanese offensive operations are reported in at least three sectors. More than a thousand Chinese civilians were killed or injured in air raids on Chungking and Kweiyang on successive days last week—the most serious raids of recent months. A year or two ago the United States was accustomed to enter vigorous protests against such raids. Today we hear no protests, and nothing is being done in Congress about the various embargo resolutions which have been up for consideration since the expiration of the trade treaty. This does not mean that the Administration has given way entirely to Japan, but it suggests that the clique in the State Department favoring appeasement has gained the upper hand. An additional factor is that some of the organizations formerly most active in urging economic sanctions against Japan are now wholly preoccupied with "keep out of war" propaganda. Doubtless this is intended to apply only to the European situation, but its net effect is to damp down sentiment for positive action in the East as well as in the West.

✶

THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS A "RIGHT" to obtain a government contract, and common sense will approve Justice Black's decision for the Supreme Court upholding the Walsh-Healey Act. This act permits the Secretary of Labor to fix minimum wages for companies which fill government contracts. The wage rates apply only to government work. No company is compelled to bid for these contracts. The act, Justice Black said, "was not intended to be a bestowal of litigable rights upon those desirous of selling to the government; it is a self-imposed restraint. . . ." The government confines its dealings to those companies which pay decent wages. It feels that government money should not go to those who are depressing wages. The policy is for Congress, not the courts, to decide. Private businesses buy where they please. The government may now do likewise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IS IT LACK OF COURAGE OR OF SINCERITY that prevents Democratic leadership in the Senate from bringing up the anti-lynching bill for a vote? No bill is more certain of passage if voted upon; none is in greater danger of being buried. The Gavagan anti-lynching bill passed the House on January 10 by a vote of 252 to 131. Its companion measure, the Wagner-Capper-Van Nuys bill, was favorably reported to the Senate by the Judiciary Committee on March 25. The vote was 12 to 4. Seventy-two Senators have pledged themselves to vote for the bill if it comes up. Only forty-nine need keep their word to insure passage. Majority Leader Barkley is still hesitating in the face of a threat of filibuster. Is Democratic leadership afraid of antagonizing the Bilbos and the Connallys, even though majority opinion in the South as well as the North is in favor of the bill?

*

THE FAILURE OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE as now constituted to provide protection against need is graphically set forth in figures just compiled by the American Association for Social Security. During 1939 the average amount paid to unemployed workers in benefits under the Social Security Act was only $84.24, whereas an average of $633 was paid to WPA workers and of $297 to recipients of home relief. Unemployment benefits were so small that they had practically no effect in reducing the burden of relief. Although an increased number of states provided unemployment benefits last year, expenditures for general relief were actually higher than in 1938. Unemployment payments were, with a few exceptions, both too small in size and too restricted in duration to be of much aid to the real victims of unemployment. The average weekly insurance check for the country as a whole was $10.85, but this average is inflated by the inclusion of $15 and $18 payments to the few well-paid skilled workers in comparatively stable trades, who qualify for maximum benefits. Forty-four per cent of the payments for part-time unemployment were for less than $5. The meager aid given to jobless workers under the various state unemployment-compensation laws is particularly indefensible in the light of the fact that only 54 cents of every dollar collected in payroll taxes were paid out in benefits. This situation has serious economic as well as humanitarian implications, since it means that close to a half-billion dollars is being subtracted from purchasing power, over and above the amount distributed to aid the jobless.

*

IT IS WORTH RECORDING WHEN ONE HAS A good time at one's own party. The dinner last week in New York, at which *The Nation* gave its first annual award to Eleanor Roosevelt, seemed even to its sponsors a delightful and stirring celebration. The award was offered for "distinguished service in the cause of American social progress," and Mrs. Roosevelt was chosen by vote from a most appealing group of candidates. Public dinners can be dull; anniversary parties are likely to be lugubrious. This particular anniversary dinner was neither. Guests and speakers alike seemed to enjoy it, and we only regret that all *The Nation's* readers were not able to be present. We have been urged to publish the speeches, and we wish we could do so. Unhappily several of them were extemporaneous and cannot be reconstructed. Excerpts from several, however, will appear next week; so readers who missed the dinner will have a chance to share at least part of its excellent fare.

Too Little, Too Late

WHATEVER else may be said about the disastrous British defeat in Norway, it has greatly clarified the military situation and opened the way for the rapid development of the main German campaign by air and sea against the British Empire. The Germans have achieved their major aims in capturing the entire South of Norway, even if the Allies retain their hold upon Narvik. That, as Mr. Sternberg shows on page 590 of this issue, would involve a loss in iron ore which can only be partially compensated by shipments from Sweden's Baltic ports. But though this will prove a serious handicap if the war is prolonged, it may seem a small price for possession of the Norwegian airplane bases, only 330 miles from Britain, and of innumerable fjords in which submarines can hide between their raids on British shipping.

From the beginning, as Mr. Villard reported from Berlin last fall, the Germans have envisaged the conquest of England by midsummer by means of airplanes and submarines. Submarine warfare has not as yet developed as successfully as they had expected. But their confidence in their superiority in the air and in their grasp of the new technique of war has never waned. With the distance their planes have to cover cut in half, and their newly won ability to fly down both coasts of Britain, they are doubtless convinced today that, despite the difficulty they will have in transporting adequate supplies of high-grade gasoline to Norway for the use of their bombers, they will soon be in readiness to launch the great air attacks upon England which they believe will prove the final phase of the war. July 15 has been the date that German military men have mentioned as marking the completion of this enterprise.

More than that, their often-expressed belief that the day of naval power is over is bound to be tremendously reinforced by the result of the Norway adventure. One does not need to accept their statements of great losses inflicted on the British fleet to know that the Royal Navy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has failed in the task that the German advance into Norway set it. Whether that failure was due to Britain's unwillingness to risk its capital ships, or whether divided counsels resulted in slowness in getting into action, the inescapable fact is that the navy has not made good Churchill's promise of four weeks ago that "all German ships in the Skagerrak and Kattegat will be sunk," and that "we are not going to allow the enemy to supply their armies across these waters with impunity." Undoubtedly the navy has inflicted great losses upon the German navy and sunk many German transports with horrifying loss of life. None the less, the German land forces in Norway have been supplied in one way or another sufficiently to carry on a successful campaign. That it was not all through the air is apparent from the fact that tanks and motor vehicles of various kinds were used in the Norwegian operations.

The Germans may also take satisfaction in the fact that Secretary Edison in Washington has now officially admitted that "for the moment" the airplane is ahead in its war with the battleship, and that therefore the entire vast battleship-building program of the American navy will have to be stopped and the plans for ships redrawn to provide better deck protection against airplane attacks. This is an amazing confession by our naval authorities, who have persistently, from the days of General Mitchell and Admiral Sims, refused to believe that the days of the battleship might be numbered.

The Germans, on the other hand, led by Göring himself, have believed for years that domination of the air is the new road to military success, an opinion in which they were fortified by their actual war experiences in aiding Franco to achieve victory in Spain. Their next move, there is some reason to believe, will be to use the Norwegian bases for extended raids on British coasts. It is the west coast which attracts them most, because they are determined to cut England off from the Atlantic trade routes. They can concentrate upon these now because English trade with Scandinavia is finished. Moreover, their objectives are also the great shipbuilding plants and merchant harbors. When they begin bombing England it will be with the particular aim of destroying the private and naval shipyards in which repairs are now being made upon damaged warships and in which the five great new battleships upon which Churchill has counted so much are being completed.

It by no means follows that this ambitious program can be carried out or that the British, fighting in their own territory in a campaign which has been clearly foreseen from the beginning, may not be able to repel the German assaults, to say nothing of counter-attacks by British and French aviators upon Germany. But to be safe and win, the British must display better brain work, greater speed, and far greater efficiency than they have demonstrated in the Norwegian episode. From the beginning they have underestimated the skill and power of their opponents, their strength in the air and their ruthlessness. The British, moreover, have failed to realize the truth of what the Germans have been saying—that the tactics and strategy of this war bear little or no relation to those of the last. It is a dangerous sign, too, that they have lately been boasting in the most un-British way of what they were going to achieve. Less than two weeks ago a semi-official British statement given to the American press men in London said that the Germans had better begin to "run for home from all their posts in Norway" because they were going to be destroyed.

Every move of the Chamberlain administration in relation to Nazi aggression has been characterized by procrastination, lack of imagination, and a preference for half-measures. Too little, and too late, will be the verdict of history on this government, and unless a stronger and abler substitute is found quickly, these words may form the epitaph of the British Empire as well.

Sequel to a Melodrama

THE Schweinhaut report to Attorney General Jackson on the FBI raids in Detroit seems an odd document. Its tone absolves and approves. Its findings—and its omissions—condemn. It shows that the FBI agents did, indeed, make these raids under terrifying circumstances, in two cases breaking down doors at 5 a. m. to effect entry. It admits that the agents acted without search warrants. It admits that in all but one case those arrested were denied the right to notify counsel. It indicates that they were held incomunicado. Though the Schweinhaut report does not say so, it is clear that basic constitutional rights were violated. Attorney General Jackson forwards the report to Senator Norris, whose protest led to the investigation. He clears the agents who took part. He says that they acted "within their instructions." Does the Attorney General approve of those instructions? We have too high an opinion of the Attorney General to believe that he does.

"The bureau's . . . work for law enforcement," the Jackson letter to Senator Norris says, "is conducted with the fundamental purpose of observing the rights of defendants." This was hardly so in Detroit. When some of the defendants objected to the lack of search warrants, agents informed them that none were needed. "It is apparent," Schweinhaut reports, with characteristic understatement, "that some of the material taken would not come within the catalogue of seizable material as outlined by the Supreme Court."

When the charges made in Detroit are compared with the findings reported to Washington, gaps appear, and the gaps are also significant. It was charged that the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agents failed to tell the defendants why they were being arrested. Schweinhaut reports that the FBI agents were instructed not to discuss the facts of the case. It was charged that the FBI did not permit the accused to notify counsel. The report says the agents were instructed not to permit the defendants to make any telephone calls when arrested. In one case, the report declares, a defendant was permitted to call his lawyer. The defendants charged that they were held incomunicado. The report discloses that only two of the prisoners were allowed to make telephone calls from the FBI office from the time of their arrest at 5 a. m. until their arraignment at 3 p. m. None of them were permitted to telephone counsel. An attorney for several of the defendants called on the United States attorney in the morning but was refused permission to see them. He made the same request at the FBI office, and after a heated exchange, permission was again refused. The lawyer, according to the Schweinhaut report, was only permitted to see the defendants for about fifteen minutes, and then only in the presence of FBI agents. Yet the right to consult counsel privately has been recognized as fundamental by the Supreme Court. The report blames the chaining of the prisoners on the federal marshal who took them into custody after they were arraigned. Detroit newspapers published pictures showing the prisoners in chains before arraignment while they were in the custody of the FBI.

We hope that neither the Attorney General nor Senator Norris will be satisfied with this report. Enough has been uncovered to show that the rights of the accused were violated by the methods and manner of the raids. Whoever was responsible for the instructions in the case should not escape condemnation. The Detroit report indicates the need for the broader inquiry Senator Norris demanded and for an explanation of what reforms are expected from the newly established Neutrality Unit. In sedition and neutrality-law cases it will apparently provide some check on the activities of J. Edgar Hoover. But will it stop there?

Will the new unit have any authority to end the compilation of a Dilling-style card index of persons whose economic and political views Hoover considers dangerous? This is the kind of work done by all efficient, totalitarian secret-police departments. Will the new unit serve as a check on the recently reestablished General Intelligence Division, source of the worst abuses during the post-war hysteria of the early twenties? Will the new unit provide a check on the FBI's "plant-protection" activities? Will it give assurance that these activities are protection against espionage, not against trade unionism? Will it end the practices revealed by the Christian Front trial and the raids on Loyalist sympathizers in Detroit and New York? Can it guarantee that the FBI will not continue to tap wires, in plain violation of the Communications Act of 1934?

What the new unit will accomplish will depend largely on its personnel and the determination of the Administration. The task is a difficult one. The FBI and its director have survived one Administration after another. They are well intrenched both in Washington and in their fifty branches throughout the country. Mr. Jackson is to be commended for this new curb on G-man Hoover, but we still believe that the best way to end illegal and extra-legal activities by the FBI is first to find out exactly what it has been doing. Only a Congressional investigation can do the job.

Mussolini's Timing

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

ITALY can gain from going into the war only if Germany wins and wins quickly. Even then it will gain much or little depending on its own power and strategic position when victory comes. Hitler is not going to give Mussolini as free gifts pieces of territory that he can use himself. Italy will get what it can take and no more, and will keep only what it holds when the loot is divided. So Mussolini has been stepping precariously along a narrow fence. Today he acts as if he were about to jump off and join his Teutonic comrades in the great crusade against pluto-democratic tyranny. The British defeat in Norway has encouraged his belief that Germany is bound to win, and he seems inclined to assume that victory will come soon. At least his press and his spokesmen shout that belief on order. Their shouts may be only sound effect, but they may be a part of the process of preparing an unwilling people to take part in an unpopular war alongside a detested ally.

At any rate, the world is taking Fascist truculence at its own value. It would be dangerous to do otherwise. The President of the United States last week initiated a series of moves designed to buy off Italy from its apparent war-like purposes. Mr. Roosevelt consulted with the Italian Ambassador at Washington, and the American Ambassador at Rome conferred with both Mussolini and Ciano and then went to see Myron Taylor at the Vatican. Naturally no report of the talks was published, but it was hinted that the United States held out the promise of more trade and a new trade treaty if Italy would keep the peace. Mussolini is supposed to have inquired whether the United States "understood Italy's position." Ciano indicated that Italy would not go into the war immediately; some reports said not for "ten days."

The fact is, the United States, with all its power to grant or withhold economic favors, cannot offer enough to keep Italy out of the war if Hitler seems to be winning; Mussolini must be in at the kill. On the other hand he will require no bribes to stay out—however readily he may accept them—if he feels the Allies are winning or if a long war seems in prospect. For, as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

everyone knows, Italy cannot last out a long war without access to great quantities of oil and iron. Its stored supply of oil is supposed to be barely sufficient for a six months' struggle. And where is more to come from? Certainly not from Russia or Rumania, which cannot supply Germany with more than a fraction of its needs. Certainly not from the Americas or the Near East as long as the British fleet is intact.

It is improbable that the United States will press its case too far. For this country also has a difficult problem to face in its dealings with Italy. American interests naturally support a limitation of the area of warfare; the United States would lose its considerable Mediterranean market the day Italy declared war. On the other hand it would be short-sighted to grab at commercial advantages which might be turned into aid for Hitler; a great increase in trade with Italy would certainly augment the flood that flows through the Brenner to supply the German army. The most the President can safely offer Mussolini for continued neutrality is probably too little to affect his course decisively.

What Mussolini wants is to choose his own time to act. His press is loud with innocent astonishment at Britain's warlike moves in the Mediterranean: moving the fleet to Alexandria is a provocation; the Near Eastern army of Britain and France is a direct threat. And in a sense the Fascists are right, however insincere their surprise, for the Allies seem to have accepted at its face value Il Duce's promise of ultimate action on Hitler's side and to have made a series of anticipatory moves. Whether these moves are again "too late and too little" only time will show. But they are the only signs on the widening horizon of war that the Allied governments have anticipated any single act of any potential enemy. That they will go farther and act first themselves seems unlikely; but it is something to know—from Italian as well as Allied sources—that they are not likely to be caught off guard in the east as they have been in Norway.

In the Balkans and all around the shores of the Mediterranean the tension is acute, and every country is going through the motions of readying itself for war. Whether they would all fight in case of a German or Italian invasion is questionable. The failure of Britain and France to get sufficient help to Norway in time to save it from conquest—added to their original failure in Poland—is being studied in all the East European states. (A special dispatch to the New York *Times* from Bucharest reports that at a reception for officials, diplomats, prominent citizens, and the press at the German legation, a film showing the Nazi occupation of Copenhagen and Oslo was shown. The report concludes, "Its showing did not leave the audience unmoved." Those present must have been even more deeply stirred if they happened to recall that the famous Nazi film picturing the destruction of Poland was shown at a similar gathering in Oslo shortly before the invasion of Norway.) Fear of Germany is Hitler's best ally and may save him the trouble of fighting. Germany is draining the Southeastern states now with some success, and war might lessen rather than increase its share of their resources. But if the Germans do move south and east, Italy will move too. Italy cannot allow its ally to take control of Yugoslavia—particularly the Dalmatian coast. In this region Italy's relation to Germany is similar to Russia's in Poland; Mussolini must act, if only to get there before Hitler does.

Little is said these days about Spain. But if war moves through the Mediterranean, the importance of Spain will suddenly revive. France and Britain will realize at last that when they sold out the Loyalist government to its fascist enemies they lost an ally. Spain could have been a strong friend; it may soon become a weak but dangerous enemy. If Italy goes in, Franco will probably try to remain non-belligerent, serving his Italian boss in the same way Mussolini has served Hitler. Spain is politically and economically a dead country. Strategically it is as important as ever.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 581

EDITORIALS:

TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE 583

SEQUEL TO A MELODRAMA 584

MUSSOLINI'S TIMING by Freda Kirchwey 585

MEN WHO WOULD BE PRESIDENT. VI. TRY TO FIND VANDENBERG by Milton S. Mayer 587

WHY NARVIK IS VITAL by Fritz Sternberg 590

LET'S JOIN THE UNITED STATES by Maury Maverick 592

LOOKING TOWARD THE PEACE by Maxwell S. Stewart 594

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 597

IN THE WIND 598

ISSUES AND MEN by Oswald Garrison Villard 599

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

WALDO FRANK, PILOT by Reinhold Niebuhr 600

WHERE MARX WAS RIGHT by Lewis Corey 601

THE HAMLET OF L. MACNEICE by John Peale Bishop 602

REVOLT OF HARU MATSUI by Elizabeth McCausland 604

IN BRIEF 605

DRAMA: THE RIDDLE OF THE SPHINX by Joseph Wood Krutch 605

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 606

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor ROBERT BENDINER

Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors
KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART I. F. STONE

Assistant Editor
JAMES WECHSLER

Dramatic Critic
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

*

Business Manager and Director of Circulation
HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager
MURIEL GRAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Men Who Would Be President

VI. TRY TO FIND VANDENBERG

BY MILTON S. MAYER

SENATOR VANDENBERG is something like an onion. You peel off layer after layer, looking for the core. And when you've peeled him all away—by golly, there isn't any core.

Don't misunderstand me. Vandenberg is liberal (for a Republican), enlightened (for a politician), and industrious (for a Senator). But you can't find out what makes him go. Dewey and Taft have cores; you may not like them, but they're there. Vandenberg doesn't add up to anything. He cancels out.

It wouldn't matter much in ordinary times. Harding was coreless, and a little brown at the edges besides, and the country survived. Alexander Hamilton thought there would be "a constant probability of seeing the station filled by characters preeminent for ability and virtue," but this preeminence turned out to be unnecessary. Almost every President looks too small for the job beforehand, and almost all of them, inducted into a great tradition, somehow rise to the office. Few Presidents, as candidates, looked as good as Vandenberg. Most of them looked a lot worse.

But these are not ordinary times. As Senator Vandenberg, the distinguished phrase-maker, has said so often, America is at the crossroads. The world is fighting for its life. The United States, in or out of the war, is going to have to act, and act heroically. Domestically, it might as well be Arthur Vandenberg as anyone else. But foreign policy, the field in which the Executive has disproportionate power in the structure of our government, is going to demand a strong Executive. Maybe Roosevelt, with his impulse to walk upon the waters, is wrong; but Vandenberg isn't anywhere.

Just try to find him. Our great isolationist used to be a fire-eater. Away back in peaceful 1912, as editor of the Grand Rapids *Herald* he was warning everybody that "the time will never come, so long as the Republic lives, when the honor of the nation will not call for whole-hearted defense at the hands of every one of the nation's sons." By the time of Wilson's second inauguration Editor Vandenberg was all the way in: "One right yielded up only invites the loss of a second—then a third. The endless chain! Soon infringements pyramid, and assailants, encouraged by ease of unchallenged conquest, commence to plot against the life of the nation itself. Somewhere the stand must be made."

Suddenly, after the war, the editor remembered his Midwestern Republicanism and fell under the spell of Borah. He discovered that the war was not fought for "the life of the nation" but for Wall Street. He sponsored the munitions investigation with Nye and went so far out on the limb that he couldn't get back even when Detroit, the motor interests, and the Booth papers in Michigan, all favored the lifting of the arms embargo last fall. The fighting editor had become the isolationist Senator.

Last winter, when the renewal of the Japanese trade treaty of 1911 came up, Vandenberg, still talking isolation, turned interventionist. His successful resolution to abrogate the treaty was, according to Walter Lippmann, "the longest step on the road to war that the United States has taken since President Wilson announced in 1915 that the United States would hold the German government strictly accountable for its acts." Then Russia invaded Finland, and Vandenberg, following the interesting behavior of that other distinguished ex-isolationist, Herbert Hoover, demanded withdrawal of our recognition of the Soviet Union. (Of course he was strictly isolationist, as was Hoover, when Germany invaded Austria, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Danzig, and Poland.)

What, then, does Vandenberg's foreign policy add up to? Either opportunism—if he had won the arms-embargo fight he'd have clinched the Republican nomination—or nothing.

He is and always has been a strict eighteenth-century protectionist. Even Landon and Knox have caught up with Adam Smith, but Vandenberg stands pat. Or does he? "I could make a hell of a good speech on either side of the reciprocal-trade treaties," he told me in the midst of his glorious struggle against them, "but you can't say anything for them to a farmer west of the Mississippi." It sounds like opportunism, and the man who fights free trade and at the same time squawks about the mounting pile of gold at Fort Knox is certainly either opportunistic or stupid.

Yet it is on international affairs that Vandenberg is at his most consistent. On domestic problems you can't locate him at all. He has stood squarely on both sides of every issue of the past ten years. He has been against subsidies to the farmer and for the payment of equalization fees; for the RFC and against pump-priming; for economy and against reorganization; for devaluation and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against "repudiation"; for housing and against the spend-lend theory (and for and against housing); for the SEC and against marginal-trading and holding-company regulation; for tariff and loan benefits to the suffering rich and against relief benefits to the suffering poor (and for and against relief); for and against federal control of relief; for budget-balancing and at the same time for a general pension; for and against income-tax publicity; for higher surtaxes and against taxation of tax-exempt securities.

If you're groggy, think of Vandenberg. It must be terrible to get to your feet to speak against a measure and then find yourself speaking for it. But there is method in at least some of his ambivalence. Take this spinner: "I heartily believe that human rights far outweigh property rights in their value and their challenge, tempered always with the reservation that property rights are among the greatest of human rights and that you can't have the latter without the former." The average civil libertarian who has left his syntax separator at home never discovers that Vandenberg is saying that property rights outweigh human rights.

The man is canny. He gets himself the reputation of a great compromiser, a reasonable sort of fellow, and the compromise always winds up with his side taking the pot. "My ideas of 1940," he tells me, "are as different from my ideas of 1928 as black from white. In those days we were all under the inertia of the twelve fat years. The Democrats were the same as the Republicans. What the hell was the difference between John W. Davis and Calvin Coolidge?" What worries me is: what the hell is the difference between John W. Davis, Calvin Coolidge, and Arthur H. Vandenberg? His ideas change not only once every twelve years; they change once every twenty-four hours. If I knew it was unadulterated opportunism, I wouldn't be worried. I'd say that here is a tory playing the smartest politics in the country. The "we-agree-with-your-objectives-but-not-with-your-methods" gag is still the only way to beat the New Deal, and Vandenberg is the only Republican candidate who knows it.

From 1934 to 1938 the Senator from Michigan *was* the Republican Party. The only Republican from a populous state to survive the second Roosevelt landslide in 1934, he rose to the top of the party by the simple expedient of being the only man in it. And he alone among the Republicans—though he had the Old Deal Democrats with him—had the political wisdom to recognize that the best way for a little fellow to lick a big fellow is to climb on his shoulders. So Vandenberg went along with measure after measure, went along far enough to disarm the country. Then—he turned and struck. He is the "fifth column" of American politics.

It was beautiful to behold. Here was no partisan, no diehard; here was a genuine statesman who, devoted though he was to the noble objectives of the New Deal, felt himself compelled, regretfully, almost tearfully, to knife nine out of every ten New Deal measures. He had the Republican press all to himself—although papers like the Chicago *Tribune* watched him warily until they got his pitching—and he knew how to news-angle his publicity releases and to jolly the boys in the press gallery —"I'm just a newspaperman myself."

But his liberalism, like his personality and his learning, is synthetic. He sprinkles his "Ave Roosevelts" with frolicsome references to "bankruptcy" and "socialism." And sooner or later he gets around to discovering that the really meritorious moves of the New Deal are of Republican origin. When he couldn't attribute the 1936 boom to the Republicans, he ascribed it to "the inevitable cycle of resurgent trade."

The man can't be damned out of hand. He has done great permanent good in the Senate as a serious, hard-working legislator. He proposed bank-deposit insurance —over Roosevelt's objection, he says. He did an excellent subcommittee job on profit-sharing. He pushed automatic reapportionment through an unwilling Congress. He produced a compromise child-labor amendment which retains the spirit of the original and has a chance of ratification. He voted for the Norris-LaGuardia Act but against the Wagner Act, which, typically, he now calls "labor's bill of rights," and which, he now says, is, and should be, here to stay. Of course he wants to amend it to death because "society sees just as much need for protection against union dictators as against employer dictators." Back in 1915 Vandenberg, as an editor, campaigned for an almost Wagnerian "right of industrial petition." The right he asked for then was exclusively for labor. But that was 1915.

I'm afraid that if Vandenberg could be found anywhere, it would be somewhere between gray and black reaction. He obviously believes devoutly in the trickle theory of prosperity: pour it in at the top. He wants to save, or restore, or introduce something which—the old phrase-maker—he calls "the American way." Though Vandenberg the scholar sang the praises of Alexander Hamilton's fight for liberal construction, Vandenberg the statesman says the court has been packed. Though he has no open truck with Michigan politics, the evidence is abundant that he has no quarrel with the quiet, efficient, and rotten McKay machine in Grand Rapids. And —if you're still doubtful—the Chicago *Tribune* calls him "the most useful member of the United States Senate."

The reason Vandenberg seems to be a cut or two above the average statesman is that he tries so hard to be. He works slavishly as a Senator, attends Senate sessions and committee meetings conscientiously, and comes up with solid, specific proposals based on extended research. He is the most studious man in Congress, reads widely (the occupational disease of all editorial writers), and has written three little-known books on Hamilton.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He tries so awfully hard, and he just can't make it. He lacks both mental discipline and the insight indispensable to a theoretical basis for a political philosophy. Take his stand—subject, of course, to change without notice—on America's place in the world. He simply pretends that the rest of the world isn't there. As a boy he went wild over the American variation of European constitutional government, and never having heard of Aristotle, Locke, Montesquieu, Voltaire, or Rousseau, decided it was something uniquely American which had to be preserved from the contamination of Europe.

He is just as infantile on domestic policy. "Eight years of the New Deal," he tells us, "have launched certain social concepts which, in their objectives, cannot and should not be reversed." Then he discovers that the New Deal is "the most prodigal omnibus that ever rolled down the highway of American experience." And he winds up on the "we'll-do-it-better" note, because "Republicans notoriously are more practical and more efficient administrators." He just doesn't see that in a society based on piracy the men with social concepts are always the prodigals and the practical men never have social concepts.

Arthur Hendrick Vandenberg was born that way—fifty-six years ago in Grand Rapids. His father, a prosperous harness-maker, was ruined by the "Democratic" depression of 1893, and Arthur grew up to understand that the nation was saved from a fate worse than death by William McKinley and Mark Hanna. The Vandenbergs are a race of men who, though they may not have had a nickel, were brought up to revere finance capitalism and reached for their shotguns whenever James J. Hill shouted, "Inflation!"

Little Arthur had to leave the University of Michigan after he had been there a year because his health cracked under the double load of study and work. He got a job on the Grand Rapids *Herald*. The paper was bought by William Alden Smith, buccaneer and spellbinder, whose statesmanship reached its peak when, as chairman of the Senate committee investigating the Titanic disaster, he asked why the passengers didn't get into the watertight compartments. Arthur's finger-pointing, desk-thumping, pointing-with-pride, and viewing-with-alarm are all inherited from his distinguished mentor.

Smith made Arthur editor of the paper at twenty-two or twenty-three, and there he remained for twenty-five years. The state reeked with deals, particularly in utilities, and unless Arthur was a pretty poor newspaperman, and he wasn't, he knew what was going on. He became an influential Republican and a powerful campaign speaker, though he never bothered to truck with the boys in the back room. Grand Rapids and Michigan didn't interest him; the *Herald* was as pompous in its nationalism and internationalism as the New York *Times*. Michigan, for the editor, was just a springboard to Washington. When Senator Vandenberg, single-handed, kills Passamaquoddy, the Florida ship canal, and the Social Security "full reserve," the people of Michigan feel that at last they have produced a great national leader. His determination to be President is as longstanding as it is unoriginal.

Appointed to the Senate in 1928, he was returned in the election of 1934. He is and always has been dull, oratorical, and partisan, and he always conveys the impression of being interesting, profound, and patriotic. Though the smarties in Washington write him off as a bass drum, he is quick on the draw, affable, wholesomely cynical in private about his own publicity, and as attractive among men as Tom Dewey is not. Roosevelt told an audience in 1936 that if Vandenberg had been nominated that year by the Republicans, the two of them could have stumped the country together; and Roosevelt's friendship with him is matched by that of most of the men he works with, or against, in Washington. Nevertheless, he remains an uninteresting personality. In Michigan it is his prestige alone that elects him. I find people who admire him, people who trust him, people who would vote for him, but never any who feel enthusiasm for him. What he is, is an American business man, not a small one, not a big one. He booms when he talks, and he likes to sound off among fellow-business men who are impressed by his stock, not of wisdom, but of information.

Senator Vandenberg

He is beyond any doubt the best of the front runners, His fellow-Senators and the Washington press corps in informal polls agree with Farley: Vandenberg is the man to beat. Victories in Nebraska and Wisconsin would have given him the Middle West and Northwest; in view of Dewey's build-up and activity Vandenberg showed amazingly well in both primaries. He has always played the waiting game. He is waiting now, and when Dewey and Taft have burned themselves out, Vandenberg will come loping down the stretch. He profits immensely from the immaturity of Taft and Dewey. Just as Hull would pull elderly Republican votes from Dewey, so Vandenberg would pull elderly Democratic votes from, say, Jackson.

The wire-pullers in the state committees and the up-and-comers like Governor Stassen of Minnesota—and they are the boys who ought to be listened to—regard Vandenberg as far and away the strongest man for the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

long pull. Eastern money, which is usually listened to in Republican conventions, regards Taft as safe but unable to win, Dewey as a risk because he can be led, and Vandenberg as positively dangerous because he will lead himself no one knows where. There are Bourbons in Detroit and Grand Rapids, as well as in the East, who would take a conservative Democrat in preference to Vandenberg. They don't make the mistake of thinking he is liberal, but they don't like his straddling. They wanted him to go out and die for Old Guardism in 1934, but Vandenberg, who wanted to be reelected, talked New Dealism and squeezed through by 43,000 Detroit votes. He wants to be President, but not as badly as he wants to hold on at least to what he's got.

He is an opportunist, of course, and that is all right with the Joe Pews, but he has no positive principles to assure them that sometime, somewhere, he will take a last-ditch stand on something. He is no Hamiltonian. "Nothing appears more plausible at first sight," wrote Vandenberg's hero in the *Federalist,* "or more ill-founded upon close inspection, than a scheme of continuing the chief magistrate in office for a certain time, and then excluding him from it, either for a limited period or forever after." The patriot who now howls that a third term would be "contrary to every tradition America holds dear" said in 1910 that "if he [Theodore Roosevelt] be President again, it will be no confession of our constitutional weakness. It will be but a tribute to Roosevelt, the man, the individual, the idol. It will be no confession of the failure of our governmental methods, but . . . new evidence of the affection of a people for one who has served them honestly and well."

The Bourbons mistrust Vandenberg rightly. He will never adhere to the party for its principles, or desert it for his own. The Old Guard dies but never surrenders. Vandenberg surrenders but never dies.

Why Narvik Is Vital

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

THE smashing drive of the German expeditionary force in Norway and the precipitate retreat of the Allies to the northern tip of the country tend to overshadow one of the most important developments of the war—the grave threat to Germany's supply of iron ore. Whatever the fate of central and southern Norway, that threat exists as long as the British maintain their blockade of Narvik, the ice-free port through which in the past the bulk of Swedish iron ore has been shipped to Germany. A report that Allied planes had penetrated deep into Germany and destroyed half the Reich's armament and munition plants would arouse the public to a high pitch of excitement. Certain repercussions of the Scandinavian war, albeit invisible and unspectacular, may be tantamount to just such a raid.

Since the raw material of all armament and munitions is iron, a country's ability to manufacture necessary war supplies must suffer greatly if the domestic production of iron ore or the importation of it is hindered or stopped by the enemy. This is just what has happened to Germany as a result of the Scandinavian adventure. The Third Reich is almost entirely dependent on foreign ore. In the present war Swedish iron ore is much more important for German armament production than it was in the first World War. Even prior to 1914 Germany was not entirely self-supporting with respect to iron, but at least it had the mines of Alsace-Lorraine, and in the early days of the war it occupied the French district of Longwy-Briey with its rich iron-ore deposits. Its imports of iron ore, chiefly from Sweden, were therefore only supplementary, amounting to but one-fifth of its total requirements. By the Versailles Treaty, however, Germany was deprived of the greater part of its domestic deposits. Whereas in 1913 it mined 28,608,000 tons, its present production amounts to only 11,120,000 tons.

The actual situation is even worse than these figures indicate, for the Reich's ore is vastly inferior in iron content to the imported. Although lack of foreign exchange has led Germany to exploit even these low-grade ores, it has been compelled to import about 75 per cent of its total iron-ore requirements; in 1938 imports amounted to 21,900,000 tons. About half came from France, French colonial possessions, and Spain. The war, of course, closed all French sources to the Reich, and no iron ore reaches Germany direct from Spain. The amount shipped from Spain by way of Italy, evading the strict Allied contraband control, is negligible. Even before Scandinavia became a theater of war, Germany had forfeited about 50 per cent of its iron-ore imports, which is the equivalent of one-third of its total requirements. Normally Germany obtained from Sweden a quantity almost equal to its own production, and after the war began it strove to increase the amount. However, even while imports from Sweden were continuing undisturbed, German iron-ore production, domestic and imported, dropped about 40 per cent.

Whatever the future has in store for Scandinavia, Germany will be unable to obtain Swedish ore in quan-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tities equaling its pre-war purchases. In 1938, the last pre-war year, 6,500,000 tons, representing more than half of Sweden's total iron-ore export, reached the Reich by way of the Norwegian port of Narvik. The remainder was shipped from Lulea and other ports on the Gulf of Bothnia without passing through British-controlled sea lanes. Now Narvik is lost to the Reich. There is a tendency in the German press to minimize the importance of the Norwegian outlet, but certain recent events contradict such assertions. Hitler valued Narvik high enough to devote almost half of his destroyer fleet to its capture, and even the battleship Scharnhorst was assigned to assist the German naval forces operating above the Arctic Circle. The British navy, in two violent encounters, wiped out the destroyers and crippled the Scharnhorst. Actual possession of the city of Narvik is not important. Whatever its future status may be, no iron ore for Germany will be loaded at its docks, for units of the British fleet blockade the West Fjord, the entrance to the port, and the harbor itself has been made dangerous by the wrecks of ships sunk in battle.

It may be asked why Germany cannot compensate for the loss of Narvik by increasing shipments of ore from the unblockaded ports of the Gulf of Bothnia. The difficulty is that Lulea, the harbor nearest to the northern mines, is closed by ice for six or seven months of the year. Gavle, a little to the north of Stockholm, is a shipping point for the iron mines of central Sweden, but these are far less productive than the deposits north of the Arctic Circle and also their ore has a low phosphoric content which makes it unsuitable for most German furnaces. Transportation of iron ore from the north by rail to ice-free ports involves a haul of 700 miles or more and many additional freight cars, which neither Sweden nor Germany is in a position to supply at short notice. Finally Narvik has been developed over a long period of years as the main outlet for Swedish iron. The Bothnian ports have been supplementary and simply do not have the facilities for handling a great increase in traffic. It seems certain, therefore, that the amount of Swedish ore going to Germany, which even prior to the Norwegian adventure had been halved owing to war conditions, will now be still further reduced, bringing total shipments to only about a quarter of the normal figure. Moreover, the distance between Narvik and Kiruna, the center of Swedish iron-ore production, is only about seventy miles. If the British remain in possession of Narvik, controlling a region close to the main Swedish mines, they will be in a position to exercise a dominant influence on Swedish production and perhaps even to oust the Germans entirely as buyers.

National Socialist propaganda makes frequent use of the assertion that in this war a "hole in the east" strips the Allied blockade of its effectiveness. This may be true with respect to certain kinds of goods but not for iron ore. If Germany's next advance is into the Balkan region, it will find there only one country, Yugoslavia, which possesses substantial quantities of iron. Even German experts commissioned to explore the economic possibilities of Yugoslavia have declared that exploitation of the iron deposits would require several years of preliminary work. At present Yugoslavia's total annual production amounts to less than Sweden's monthly exports to Germany prior to the war.

The Soviet Union offers no better prospects. Though Russia produces annually more than 30,000,000 tons of iron ore, three times as much as Germany, it needs practically the whole amount itself; only 300,000 tons, or 1 per cent of its production, was released for export before the outbreak of the present war. With the Red Army fully mobilized, Russia will find it difficult to maintain its production at the peace-time level, and at the same time intensification of armament manufacture will require increased quantities of ore. None of the recent Russo-German trade treaties mentioned the possible exportation of Russian ore to the Reich.

The weakening of Germany's war potential through loss of iron ore is subject, however, to one condition which should not be underemphasized. Germany embarked upon its war preparations many years before the outbreak of hostilities. During those years it imported sufficient quantities of iron ore to produce arms and munitions in huge quantities and even to store millions of tons not immediately needed. Its arsenals are well supplied for many months to come. In a protracted war this early advantage would gradually fade out and give place to the material superiority of the Allies. Therefore the primary condition of making the Reich feel the loss of iron ore is large-scale military action on the western front, which remains, now as before, the main theater of war. If the war drags on in the manner in which it is now conducted, the loss of iron ore will not affect Germany's war strength.

The Polish campaign was too short to cause any considerable consumption of war material. The iron requirements of aircraft production are insignificant. A small expeditionary force such as is now fighting in Norway requires comparatively small quantities of equipment. Even if a German army were sent against the Balkan countries, it would be about the size of the force employed against Poland and would thus hardly weaken the defense of the Siegfried Line. An army of one million men could be assured of an uninterrupted supply of arms and munitions from Germany's domestic production. Moreover, Germany is still able to depend on considerable reserves of scrap iron; one of the Hitler Youth's primary peace-time duties was to collect it. If absolutely necessary, the German High Command could prohibit the exportation of machines and all products made of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

steel and utilize all domestic iron ore for the manufacture of war supplies.

Large-scale action in the main theater of war, however, would use up a vast amount of material, much more than the total reserves now available. Experience gained during the first World War demonstrates this fact. Even then almost the entire German export trade was throttled, and all iron reserves were mobilized. And although Hohenzollern Germany, with Alsace-Lorraine and Longwy-Briey, was in a distinctly more advantageous position than Hitler's Germany, the Allies' production of war materials became visibly superior toward the end of the war. Germany's loss of 75 per cent of its iron-ore imports will enable the Allies once again to achieve superiority, but only if they force Germany to fight on the western front, employing all the forces at its disposal.

Let's Join the United States

BY MAURY MAVERICK

San Antonio, Texas, May 2

WHEN I try to talk about poll taxes north of the Mason and Dixon Line, people begin to look and talk like Fijis listening to Einstein lecture on the fifth or possibly the sixth dimension. They want to know why I was indicted; I struggle to tell them. Then they ask another irrelevant question, and I try again to explain the poll-tax laws of the Southern states. When it is all over, I have a distinct feeling that nobody quite understood what I was talking about.

Yes, I was indicted for violating the "poll-tax law." I'll tell you all about it a little later in this story; just now it is enough to say that the jury found me not guilty. But right at the start I want to say positively that I don't like to be considered a persecuted "liberal." I am a politician, and hate to lose a fight. And I have been opposed to poll taxes ever since as tax collector ten years ago I found out how rotten they were.

As for the poll-tax law, I'll unfold it as soon as I can, but for those ignorant, uncultured persons known as Yankees, and for all other non-Southerners who do not understand our peculiar, and therefore sacred, institutions, I will start by explaining what a poll tax—not a pole cat—is. Irvin Cobb came through our town during my trial and refused to acknowledge there was any difference, odor or otherwise. But Irvin was unable to give a philosophic interpretation of the black and white stripes on the pole cat.

Now to the elementary lesson for uncultured Yankees. A poll tax is a per capita levy of $1.50 to $2 on persons who possess certain alleged qualifications for the right to vote. If you don't or can't pay, you can't vote, even if you have the other qualifications. In some states the charge is cumulative: you must pay all your delinquent poll taxes before you can "qualify." They may amount to $40—more than you own, or can ever raise. If you pay, you get a "poll-tax receipt"—generally on canary-yellow or baby-pink paper. On it are a lot of facts—race, color, age, sex, residence, and so on. The original idea of the poll-tax law was to eliminate the black stripe in its entirety. In most states the law was passed within ten or twenty years after the Civil War, after the carpet-baggers had been happily run out.

Now I'm not out on a reforming tour to help the poor, persecuted black man. The truth is, I am worried about the white stripe more than the black. I say this because millions of white men have been disfranchised by the poll tax which was supposed to protect them.

Poll taxes have made it easy to steal an election. How? A political machine pays a "batch" (in Texas) or a "block" (in Virginia) of poll taxes and puts the receipts in the safe. Pays the poll taxes for whom? Sometimes for nobody; in one town in Texas some four or five thousand wholly fictitious names were added to the roll of poll-tax payers. The custom is to hold the receipts until Election Day, then give them to people meeting fairly well the description. These henchmen are thus illegally converted into "qualified voters" and are sent around to vote first in one precinct, then in another. Many a dead man, or one who never lived at all, comes to life on Election Day, voting again and again.

The political machines also pay the poll taxes of actual persons—persons who are poor and under the heel of the machine. These include the *dames de plaisir* from the red-light districts, the gentlemen who live by the ladies' occupation, dope fiends, thieves, bums, drunkards, and political hangers-on. Many racketeers also pay for batches with their own money in order to show the politician they can bring home the bacon on Election Day if the politico does right—I mean wrong.

Now in the South only from 10 to 20-odd per cent of the qualified voters vote, whereas in registration states, without a poll tax, from 60 to 70-odd per cent of the qualified voters vote. And so, by means of the middle-class vote, aided by contributions from Northern interests, with hill-billies and poor people generally excluded, the machines stay in power. "White supremacy" is the cry, and with a fear complex of black domination ruling

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the white voters, the results generally go the way the bosses want.

Texas, the wealthiest Southern state, has the largest proportion of its people voting of any poll-tax state—26 per cent. South Carolina has the smallest—10 per cent; in North Carolina, just across the line, where the tax has been abolished, the vote has risen to almost 70 per cent. In West Virginia, where the poll tax has been out of fashion for some time, the vote is 79.3 per cent, as shown in the 1928 and 1932 elections.

Why doesn't a Southerner pay this tax of $1.50 or $2? The answer is simple. He hasn't got it. I can show you why. The National Resources Committee recently made a study of consumer incomes in the United States. That study showed that one-third of the nation receives less than $780 a year and is unable to save anything. In fact, in the aggregate, this bottom third has an annual deficit that amounts to more than 20 per cent of the total income of the group. We also know from the Report to the President on Economic Conditions in the South that the South has more than its share of poor people. According to this report, even in the so-called prosperous year of 1929 Southern farm people received an average annual gross income of only $186. Earnings of share-croppers ranged from $38 to $87 per person—from 10 to 20 cents a day. If you must pay a poll tax of from $1.50 to $1.75, as we do in Texas, and are earning 10 cents a day, you have to work from fifteen to seventeen days to pay it.

If a mayor of a big city, a governor, corporation lawyer, or Congressman had to pay a poll tax equal to his income for half a month, it would run from $250 to $500. At that, I suppose he could pay it a lot more easily than a share-cropper can pay $1.75. More, it is against the law to borrow the money for the tax. And on top of that, the poll tax must be paid from six months to a year before the time of voting. It takes no great mathematician to figure out the results of the poll tax in the South.

Now about my being indicted. The law in Texas says that paying—that is, going to the tax-collector and paying—the poll tax of another person is a felony. Lending, giving, or advancing the money is a misdemeanor. You can buy a gun, knife, or pistol for purposes of murdering or maiming; you can also lend, give, or advance money for these purposes. But you can't give or lend any person $1.50 so that he can have his rights of citizenship.

Here is where some of the corruption enters the picture. The machine pays or "buys" poll taxes in block as I said in the beginning. But if anybody opposed to the political machine uses money even for legal purposes the poll-tax laws are used to persecute and intimidate this opposition.

I didn't "buy" any poll taxes. This is what I did do. I made a contribution of $250 to a local union with a supposed membership of 2,000 out of $1,000 contributed to me by the national union. I told the local union to use it for a poll-tax campaign, for advertising, for taking members to the tax-collector, and for other legal purposes—but not for the actual payment of poll taxes. A whole pack of indictments were returned against me, some of them for the felony of paying the poll tax of another person, some for the misdemeanor of advancing or lending the money. Since obviously I could not be guilty of both, they tried me on the felony charge.

All my enemies are not wicked people. Many are highly virtuous, conservative citizens who fear the black menace or the Pope's navy or "radicalism," or who are employed by the economic groups that exploit the South. In general they are a group out to get a Roosevelt, a Maverick, or anybody else who won't do his bit to keep the colored people, the white share-croppers, the whole lowest third down in the dirt. They are not necessarily my personal enemies. They may merely want to maintain the economic *status quo;* or they may be swayed by race prejudice; or they may be afraid to let the people have the right of suffrage. A lot of good citizens of course are for poll taxes because there have been poll taxes since they were born.

Those who know anything of the economic history of the South know that ever since the Civil War the South has been in debt to the North—that is, to the financial interests of the North. Southern resources and Southern purchasing power are being suctioned out of the South. Over 90 per cent of the country's corporate wealth is owned in the North. Financially, politically, economically, and psychologically the South is a colony of the North. Those who want to preserve the poll-tax laws want to preserve this absentee ownership.

I want to abolish the poll tax because (1) people must have the right to vote if they are ever to get their right to a decent living; (2) nobody ought to have to pay for the right to vote in a democracy; (3) a poll tax permits only a small percentage of the people to vote, and that is undemocratic; (4) it makes possible minority control by corrupt means; (5) it is troublesome, antiquated, clumsy, and unreasonable.

Now what ought to be done? Remembering the Civil War, let us Southerners be smart and abolish the poll tax ourselves before the abolitionists get us. Let's free ourselves; let's join the United States. It seems a sure shot since other areas of the country which have unrestricted suffrage are better off than the South.

Let the poll-tax requirement in national elections be abolished by federal law. I think Congress has the right to abolish it in all elections, but it is obvious that it can do it in national elections. And the abolition of a poll tax in federal elections would enfranchise millions of Southerners. Some ask what good this would do in the South, where all is settled by the democratic primary.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Well, it would establish the principle that the federal government won't make or permit undemocratic restrictions in its own elections at least—and that would be an example.

Let everybody, North, South, East, and West, join in the fight to abolish the poll tax in federal elections; let all of us Southern Americans fight to abolish it in our own states. Let us take our place in the United States as an equal among equals, with all the people partaking of democracy.

Looking Toward the Peace

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

ONE of the few really gratifying developments in recent months has been the increasing attention which is being given to the next peace. In England several important groups, political and non-political, have been at work almost since the outbreak of war on the problem of peace terms. As early as December, *Planning*, a broadsheet issued by P. E. P. (Political and Economic Planning), outlined the basis for post-war reconstruction. In this country a group of experts under the leadership of Professor Shotwell has been examining the same problem with not dissimilar results, and a special study is being undertaken by the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research. At The Hague, early in February, under the auspices of the League of Nations, a new economic body was set up which is to serve as guide in the reconstruction period.

To the average man all these activities seem utopian. The Englishman complains that they interfere with the main task of winning the war. The American is as suspicious as ever of anything that implies involvement in Europe's affairs. Yet without widespread discussion of the problems of reconstruction, a repetition of the blunders of the last peace seems inevitable. The fact that a few experts are aware of the dangers of a peace dictated by nationalistic considerations is very little protection. There were experts, too, in 1919, such as John Maynard Keynes, who accurately foresaw the dangers in the Treaty of Versailles. But their warnings were scarcely heard amid the cries for revenge of the statesmen and people of the Allied countries. Yet in the last analysis it was economic illiteracy rather than political vengeance which made the Versailles pact the war-breeding document that it was. It is true that passionate hatred for Germany led the Allied statesmen to go farther than was prudent in seeking to saddle the entire cost of the war on Germany. But this hatred could have led to even harsher political terms, such as the seizure of even more German territory, without causing as complete a breakdown as resulted from the treaty's economic errors.

These economic blunders were not one but many. Overshadowing all else was the immense burden of reparations placed upon Germany. Originally fixed at the astronomical figure of $31,400,000,000, the reparations burden was gradually reduced until it was about $8,200,000,000 under the Young plan. These demands might not have proved so impossible to fulfil if the peace treaty had not contained several other provisions designed to weaken Germany, which greatly impaired its capacity to pay. Although most of these penalties, such as restrictions on imports and the seizure of the German merchant marine, were temporary, they left permanent scars on the German economic structure. Other measures, such as the occupation of the Saar and the forced cession of Alsace-Lorraine and the colonies, also weakened the Reich economically. Similarly, the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire is now generally recognized to have been an economic blunder of the first order. Equally basic was the failure of the statesmen attending the peace conferences to take some action to stem the rising tide of tariffs and other trade restrictions which the war had brought into existence. America's failure to make satisfactory adjustments on its war debts might be added as a factor contributing substantially to the lack of economic balance in the twenties.

Largely as a result of these blunders, the economic problems which will have to be faced at the end of this war are even more difficult than those which the statesmen confronted in 1919. Economic nationalism has matured into totalitarianism. Even the so-called democracies have instituted elaborate systems of restrictive controls. In quotas and in the manipulation of currencies nations have perfected instruments of economic warfare far more destructive than anything known twenty years ago. But at the same time there is general agreement among experts about the dangers of economic warfare and the way to avoid the errors of 1919. These areas of agreement are well worth detailed consideration.

There is sound reason to believe, for example, that the greatest blunder of Versailles will not be repeated. The experience with reparations was such that huge financial penalties are hardly likely to be again imposed on the vanquished. But this is not the whole story. The world may again emerge from the struggle with huge war obligations contracted under abnormal conditions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Should this be the case, we can only hope that the creditors will have the judgment to recall that half a loaf is better than none. The first economic principle of the peace should be that the settlement must levy no financial penalties and leave no impossible burden of international indebtedness, public or private.

Avoidance of the type of error committed in breaking up the Austro-Hungarian Empire may be still more difficult. If the Allies win a decisive victory, there will undoubtedly be pressure to divide Germany into several parts on the theory that this is the only way to protect Europe against a repetition of 1914 and 1939. Regardless of what might be said for or against such a plan politically, there can be little doubt that it would be disastrous economically. Since this fact is rather generally recognized, the chances are that the economic unity of the Reich will not be tampered with, whatever is done politically. And there are real grounds to hope that some sort of Danubian Union will be formed in Central Europe which will undo, in part at least, the damage done at St. Germain.

Even this limited advance is not likely to be achieved, however, without pressure from the United States. Yet we should not fool ourselves into thinking that the world is anxious for our advice. As a neutral, it is evident that we can obtain a voice in the councils of peace only if we are prepared to offer something of advantage. Even as a belligerent, we should have only a limited influence unless we could show that, in contrast to 1919, we were prepared to share the responsibilities of the peace. This cannot be done without a fundamental and long overdue change in popular thinking.

An offer of a general reduction in the American tariff would give us an entering wedge, though such action could hardly in itself give this country a hand in shaping the peace. The United States has, however, one thing which all countries desire—gold. It possesses nearly two-thirds of the world's supply of monetary gold. This gold is doing us no good. On the contrary, its presence here constitutes a serious economic threat: it could serve as the base for one of the most destructive inflations in America's history. And there is a danger, though probably a remote one, that if we hold on to the world's supply, gold will gradually lose its value as it ceases to be used as the medium of international exchange.

Good sense, then, would suggest that at least part of this gold be utilized for reviving international trade. As a step in this direction, the United States might offer to furnish a substantial part of the capital of a World Bank which would have as its primary function the insuring and financing of trade on more reasonable terms than could be obtained elsewhere. Such a bank might issue an international currency, backed by its gold reserves, which would greatly facilitate trade. It might also aid in the financing of post-war reconstruction.

This would be of greater value to the United States than is commonly recognized. For it might prevent a repetition of the tragic aftermath of the reconstruction period following the last war. It will be recalled that to a considerable extent the United States provided the capital and the physical material for the rehabilitation of Europe in 1919 and 1922. We have never been fully repaid for our contribution. Much of the money we advanced is frozen in uncollectible war debts. Some of the remainder is in defaulted German bonds. But though never repaid, the United States profited from the arrangement. Factories were kept busy turning out machinery and equipment for sale abroad. There were jobs enough to go around. It was only when we ceased lending abroad that our domestic problems began.

Should this war also lead to wholesale destruction—a possibility that can by no means be ruled out—the United States would again hold the key to reconstruction. Europe will again be too weakened and its economy too dislocated to provide the needed materials. Its finances will be too strained to provide all the necessary capital. The United States will presumably have a large plant capacity geared to supplying war materials to Europe. We shall once more have a choice between closing down our factories and throwing millions out of employment, or adapting our industrial plant to Europe's peace-time needs. Private capital would probably shy off from repeating the experiences of the last post-war decade. International financing might neatly avoid these difficulties and at the same time provide the foundations for a sound post-war economy. The cost of this to the United States would be: (1) the cost of overcoming the anachronistic prejudices that have shaped our commercial policy since 1919; and (2) the cost of shipping some unwanted gold from Fort Knox to, say, Basle. The advantages of the plan would be: (1) a condition of relative prosperity in this country in the post-war years; and (2) the elimination of a post-war slump arising from a top-heavy structure of international indebtedness.

As a price for this assistance in post-war rehabilitation the United States might demand that certain steps be taken toward world economic security. Many of these steps have long been recognized as being desirable in principle but have been blocked by narrow nationalistic considerations. Quotas and exchange controls, for instance, have been regularly denounced at every international conference for more than a decade. It has also been universally agreed that there should be equal access to raw materials. But the stubborn fact has remained that most trade barriers are defensive and can only be removed in a general understanding in which positive steps are taken to aid the debtor countries.

Twenty years of nationalistic legislation have greatly strengthened the drift toward economic anarchy. The Hull trade policy stands as the only important attempt

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the part of a great power to stem this tide. And even in this country the efforts of Mr. Hull have been overshadowed by nationalistic developments such as the Smoot-Hawley tariff, ship subsidies, devaluation of the dollar, and President Roosevelt's sabotage of the London economic conference.

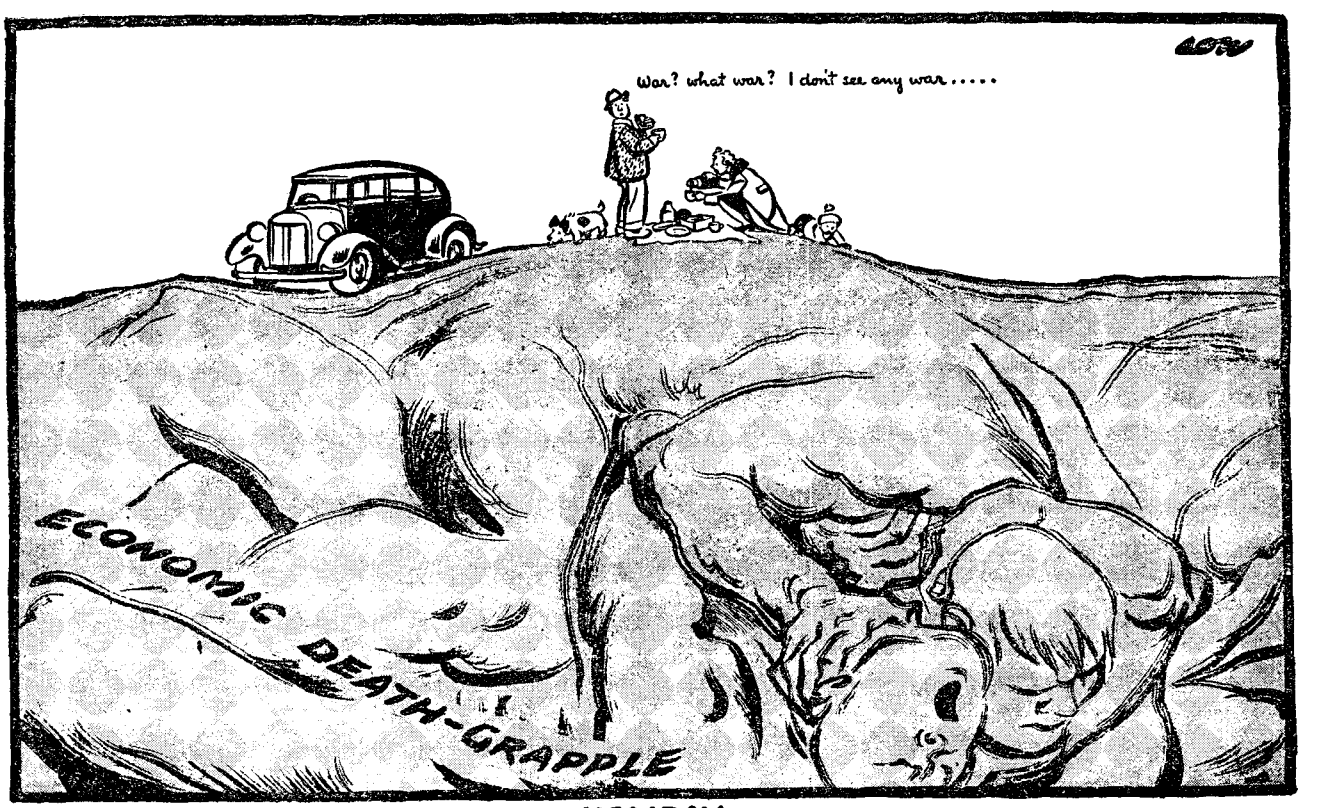
More than reciprocal trade pacts are necessary if the trend toward economic disruption is to be stopped. General agreement for the elimination of trade barriers must be obtained. But this obviously cannot be done unless the leading commercial powers, particularly the United States, take the lead. As a creditor, the United States cannot collect the obligations owed it unless it undertakes a fundamental revision of its commercial policy so as to permit a passive balance of trade. Practically speaking, this means that we, in common with Great Britain, must make trade concessions over and above those demanded of other countries.

The colonial question should be met in the same spirit. A redivision of the colonial areas of the world so that each power has a proportionate share of the world's resources is fantastic as a practical proposal. It is also cruelly contemptuous of the rights and aspirations of the peoples in the so-called backward areas. The idea that the world should be permanently divided into a few well-to-do industrial nations on one side and a much larger number of colonial and semi-colonial raw-material-producing countries on the other is dangerous and should be abandoned. Despite statements to the contrary, experience has not shown industrialization of the backward countries to be detrimental to the advanced countries. On the contrary, it has stimulated trade and raised living standards the world over.

Many of the colonial areas, such as India, the Philippines, and Korea, are presumably fully capable of self-rule. For the others, the obvious solution is an extension and perfection of the mandate system. This should be accompanied, as at present in the mandates, by guaranties of equal access to their markets and raw materials.

These steps toward a pooling and denationalization of the world's resources would work only if the economic agencies dealing in these resources were themselves subject to increased international pressures. Rapid progress was made in this direction in the years immediately preceding this war. The majority of the world's raw materials and foodstuffs have been regulated on either a European or a world basis. Control schemes or cartels have covered the production of wheat, sugar, tea, beef, timber, rubber, dyestuffs, steel, tin, zinc, oil, coke, and aluminum. While many of the schemes have had as their objective the limitation of production rather than the supplying of the world's needs, they have come to stay and might easily be diverted into more constructive channels. Creation of an international supervisory organ, possibly the new economic body set up at The Hague, would help achieve this purpose.

As a further step toward undercutting the nationalistic economic forces which make for division and conflict, the next peace conference might well arrange for international supervision of such activities as are clearly of



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

general concern. These would include transport and communications across national boundaries, postal facilities, and health work. A beginning has been made in each of these fields, but much more extensive international control would be to the advantage of all. The brilliant work done by the League of Nations Health Service in China a few years ago illustrates the very great possibilities of such a development.

None of the foregoing proposals are new. Nearly all have been accepted in principle for years. All are within the realm of practicability provided any real attempt is made to put the world's economic house in order. There remains the problem of organization, and of method. Here we have a fairly clear precedent. In contrast to the failure of the political arm of the League of Nations, the Financial Section, the Economic Intelligence Service, and the International Labor Organization, agencies established at the end of the last war to deal with economic problems, have enjoyed a conspicuous measure of success within their restricted spheres. It would seem only reasonable, then, that these agencies be expanded to take over the new activities arising from the next peace. These agencies might be supplemented by regional corporations, along the lines of our TVA, to take charge of the development of backward areas.

The technique for handling these broadened international activities has already been worked out in existing agencies. Our primary concern in the months preparatory to the peace conference should be to find the means of arousing public opinion to the necessity for American leadership and American sacrifices if the next peace is not to repeat the basic errors of the last. The time to prevent the next war is now.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Economic Defeatism

AMONG the many crimes charged daily against the New Deal by a large section of the press, that of "economic defeatism" has lately been given an especially prominent place. According to the prosecution, the Administration has been guilty of the capital offense of disturbing the American dream and of substituting for it the nightmare of a "mature economy." It has allowed its economists to broadcast a belief that our economic system has lost its dynamism, that profitable opportunities for investment have shrunk, and that, consequently, either the proportion of the national income devoted to savings must be diminished or new and unorthodox channels for capital must be developed.

Indignant editors, bankers, and Presidential hopefuls protest that such views are nonsense. How is it possible to talk of a saturation point for productive investment, they say, while at the same time you call attention to the one-third of the nation that is ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed? Thus a recent report to the American Bankers' Association by its Economic Policy Committee, headed by Colonel Leonard P. Ayres, declared: "More than half of American family incomes are still below $1,000 a year, and as long as any such condition exists we have an almost unlimited potential demand for better homes, better food, more clothing, improved housing, furnishings, and greater amounts of the services that are rendered by public utilities. We sorely need great expansion of industrial output, whether we have new expanding industries or not." Quite so, reply the New Dealers, there is an enormous market to be created by raising the standard of living of the masses, but what proposals have you for turning the potential consuming power of these millions into effective purchasing power?

Confronted by this question, the spokesmen of business retort: Give us back our lost confidence. Let Washington abandon its close regulation of industry and adopt a friendly attitude. Above all, get back to a balanced budget and cut the taxes which are breaking the backs and hearts of the wealthy and inhibiting them from investing their capital and creating new jobs. Do these things, and jobs and a rising standard of living will follow automatically.

Admittedly, the advent of an Administration in Washington prepared to adopt such a program might lead to a temporary investment boom, but unless accompanied by positive measures designed to keep purchasing power advancing step by step with productive capacity, it would quickly peter out. For, it is to be feared, business men as a whole have yet to grasp that the nature of the market to which they cater has totally changed since the nineteenth century, when capitalism, with all its sins, was certainly dynamic. If this were better understood, there would be less resentment of the description of our economy as "mature." This adjective does not imply that stagnation is inevitable, but it does indicate that the conditions of growth have altered, that instead of relying on an extensive market we must now depend on an intensive market to keep our economy progressive. The nineteenth century in America was a period of constant expansion in *Lebensraum* accompanied by inordinately rapid growth in population. Under these conditions the call for new capital investment was insistent, and, in fact, it continuously outstripped the volume of savings generated by the domestic economy. Rates of interest were high, with the result that additional capital was steadily attracted from the Old World, and particularly from Britain, whose economy had already matured in the sense that savings were in excess of profitable opportunities for investment at home. Right up to 1914 this country was still, on balance, an importer of capital, but the profits earned during World War I reversed the situation and started America off on its brief but hectic career as an international banker.

The part played in the American prosperity of the twenties by the rapid growth in foreign investments is a subject waiting to be fully explored. But there can be little doubt that had there been no such outlet for excess savings, the situation we face today would have arisen much sooner. For these foreign loans left this country in the form of goods and thus created a market for the surplus production which domestic purchasing power was unable to absorb. Thus our economy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

remained in balance, albeit precariously, until the 1929 crisis led to our precipitate abdication of the role of world's banker.

The best indication that, throughout the thirties, our capacity to save was outstripping the capacity of private enterprise to find new investment objectives is the steady fall in the rate of interest, indicating an excess in capital supply over demand. In 1936 and 1937 there was a brief period of investment expansion, marked by a slight rise in money rates, but it ended in a heavy accumulation of inventories—a sure sign that consumer purchasing power was unequal to the task of absorbing an increased industrial output.

It is easy to agree with Wendell Willkie that the age of invention is not past. We are not likely to suffer from a lack of new products and new and better ways of making old products. But as Dr. T. J. Kreps, economic adviser to the TNEC, pointed out recently: "If we vigorously push advances in technology and refuse to make the requisite economic adjustment we will set up grave tensions in our society." One adjustment necessary, he indicated, was a willingness on the part of industry to pass on the fruits of technological improvements. For where costs saved by the installation of a new process are wholly added to profits, there is normally a substraction of purchasing power from the pockets of displaced workers accompanied by an accretion in saving power, since profits are the main source of savings. But if purchasing power lags, there can be no profitable opportunity for the investment of these savings, and a new economic disequilibrium is created. To quote Dr. Kreps again: "No industry should even pretend to boast that it has made technical progress except as it measures progress in terms of lower prices." Only by so doing will it make a positive contribution to increased demand for goods and so open the door to new investment. No doubt this seems like economic defeatism to many business men because the implication of the argument is that capital must be content with a lower rate of return. But to me it seems that the real defeatists are those capitalists who insist they cannot function without a reward as great as in the days when savings could not keep pace with investment, and thrift was an economic as well as a moral virtue.

In the Wind

IN THE CURRENT issue of *Foreign Affairs* Dorothy Thompson writes: "The French had Jeanne D'Arc, but they burned her, and only canonized her when she had been dead a long time." On this the London *Spectator* comments: "We English have been accustomed to treat the murder as a stain on our own escutcheon, but we shall certainly be quite ready to share the discredit with our French allies."

CONSTANTINE BROWN'S story in the Washington *Star* suggesting that a British invasion of Holland was imminent aroused a good deal of criticism in the capital along the lines indicated in *The Nation* a fortnight ago. Many observers contended that the story was a Nazi plant, with Brown the innocent victim. Last week there was a sequel: Constantine Brown, Jr., a University of North Dakota freshman, went to Canada to enlist in the Canadian army.

WHEN JOHN STEINBECK'S "Grapes of Wrath" appeared, the Associated Farmers of California denounced the book and publicly tried to have it banned. Now Robert Franklin, public-relations chief of the association, is explaining that the opposition was all designed to get people to read the book and to focus attention on the migrant problem.

A LONDON business concern—run, incidentally, by a woman—bears in the corner of its stationery the legend: "Our telegraphic address is: Chastity, London." Across the first of the two words is now stamped the phrase: "Canceled for the duration."

HEADLINE IN the Boston *Evening Globe:* "Bremen Sinks Again." . . . One feature of *PM,* New York's new newspaper scheduled for June appearance, will be its lavish treatment of radio news. In general the press has minimized radio coverage, fearing that radio would ultimately injure the newspaper business. *PM* will devote several pages a day to it. . . . There has been a shake-up at the New York *Post,* with a new executive editor installed.

OSCAR AMERINGER, veteran grass-roots radical, is in New York visiting the publishers of his forthcoming biography. To intimates Ameringer confided his major grievance: luncheon engagements. Out West, he says, he never eats lunch because it makes him sleepy; here he is forced to. "If I want to see someone, he takes his notebook out right away and says—lunch tomorrow? People like to get their teeth into things here."

CAMPAIGN NEWS: Three years ago a private appeal was made to Postmaster General Farley for the issuance of a Booker T. Washington stamp. Mr. Farley wrote back that "the time was not propitious." A fortnight ago a ten-cent stamp bearing Booker T. Washington's picture was issued.

NEWEST NAZI propaganda device is the circulation of faked editions of British papers in neutral countries. A replica of the London *Standard* showed Hore-Belisha on the Bal Tabarin stage in Paris, London butcher shops without meat, a massacre of the R. A. F., and anti-Semitic mobs rioting in Britain. The photographs were almost uniformly faked or "edited." . . . Amid all the talk about war propaganda here, observers have completely overlooked what is probably the most primitive and effective type; it is appearing in pulp magazines, where all villains now are Huns.

THE HARVARD *Progressive's* current issue contains a survey of virginity at Radcliffe. Figures are furnished. . . . Senator Charles O. Andrews of Florida recently told St. Petersburg legionnaires: "I wouldn't mind seeing every Communist branded with a 'C' on his forehead."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

MORE than three years ago I received a letter from an officer in the Army War College in Berlin in which he discussed the international situation. He declared among other things that German military opinion held that Germany would win the next war easily because the British had lost their virility and force; all signs of vigorous leadership by young and able Englishmen, he said, were lacking. I think this belief has been very potent in German circles. Indeed, it has been generally accepted that when Ribbentrop was ambassador in London he constantly stressed this to Hitler, reporting most unfavorably upon the brain power, energy, and ability of the men in English public life.

The events of the past few weeks have gone far to bear Ribbentrop out. From the beginning of the war there was grave doubt in England as to whether the government would be able to carry on the war effectively without being made over completely. I reported from London at the outbreak that no one gave Chamberlain more than three months. When I returned from Germany in November, however, I found that Chamberlain was actually stronger than he had been at the beginning of hostilities. None the less, having been profoundly impressed while in Germany with the strength and ability of the Nazi machine and army and their absolute determination to win the war, I felt much uneasiness at the lack of corresponding strength and fighting determination in English governmental circles. That the Norwegian fiasco will now compel a reorganization of the Cabinet appears certain. The only question is, can it be efficiently done?

There is no doubt that the only man in the Cabinet who seems to have a fighting edge comparable to the German leaders is Winston Churchill. But even he does not appear to have come out of the Norwegian mess without damage. It is true that at this distance we are perhaps judging without adequate knowledge. Superficially it looks as if the British fleet had been too slow in getting into action and, though parts of it fought magnificently, did not do harm enough to prevent the Germans from following up their surprise landings not only with reinforcements by air and sea but actually with tanks and great supplies of ammunition and equipment of all kinds. It is rumored in London that Churchill is not to blame; that he was overruled in the Cabinet and that the British fleet was held back because of the tremendous British fear of losing more capital ships.

Churchill's own utterances have not helped him. He declared, it will be remembered, when the Germans landed, that Adolf Hitler's invasion of Norway was going to prove as disastrous to him as Napoleon's invasion of Spain was to that corporal. Later on he gave assurances that the British were doing extremely well and were going to strike a terrific blow; then nothing followed but defeats. He will therefore have to do a good deal of explaining and be able to prove conclusively that he was prevented by others from smashing the German attack on Norway if he is to retain his prestige. Meanwhile uneasiness at the failure of the British to report naval losses in Norway increases. While German statements cannot be accepted at their face value, they have none the less often proved to be correct; and Norwegian and American reporters are now cabling about the destruction of British warships which they have witnessed though those losses have not been acknowledged by the British government. Still another straw is the recent announcement that the British will furnish no names of merchant ships sunk.

The alarming thing is that while it is plain that Englishmen should try to reconstitute the War Cabinet with only vigorous, able men in it, no one knows where these men are to be found. Certainly Anthony Eden is no great shakes, and the Labor Party has no outstanding leader. If it were called upon to take over the government tomorrow, it could hardly do so with any assurance that it could provide the men and the brains to take big chances and smash through to a great victory. There is also no one in the Liberal Party; Lloyd George is too old to come back, and Sir Archibald Sinclair is of medium quality.

I know it is customary for commentators like myself to say that England's lack of vigorous leaders of middle age is due to the frightful losses of the last war. But the Germans had frightful losses, too, and yet they have men of the right age who are fighting this war with dash, lightning-like strategy, and tremendous organizational ability. I do not think the fact that Britain was so slow in introducing universal military service that its most virile youths volunteered and were killed is an adequate explanation. Moreover, we are twenty-five years from the last war, long enough for many who were not old enough to fight in the last war, like Malcolm MacDonald now in the Cabinet, to grow up and reach front rank.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Waldo Frank, Pilot

CHART FOR ROUGH WATERS: OUR ROLE IN A NEW WORLD. By Waldo Frank. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $1.75.

DESPITE its comparative brevity Waldo Frank's book contains several theses and moves on more than one level. On the level of political analysis the book is a vigorous attack upon isolationism. On the level of cultural and religious analysis it is a carefully reasoned polemic against the whole religion of "liberalism" which arose in the eighteenth century and which, in the opinion of the author, cannot help us to understand the tragedy of our era or to find a way out of its confusion.

The political thesis can be briefly stated. Mr. Frank does not believe that we ought to become involved in the war. But he is profoundly disturbed by the efforts of isolationists to prove that Europe can go to hell without any concern of ours. Perhaps it is best to state his thesis in his own words:

> We must try . . . by every means to avoid physical involvement in war. Not because we are not in this world war; we are in it: but because we can best consolidate our values as an immediate norm of action by keeping our powder dry. This being our strategy, we should do all we can to keep the war from spreading. And that means we should take definite sides and openly and authoritatively state the hope of 90 per cent of us, from President downward, in the present conflict. The new Communist "line" of making no distinction between imperialist Britain and Nazi Germany is disgusting. You might as well say that anemia is no worse than bubonic plague because both are diseases. . . . To destroy fascism by a frontal war alone is hopeless, for the seeds of fascism are within us. Nevertheless, when fascism externalizes itself in the body of a great power, which we have allowed to fatten on our cowardice and crimes, we must actively hate it, better late than never; and help its enemies, whatever their limitations.

This seems to me sound doctrine; and it is refreshing to find it vigorously elaborated against the horde of modern idealists who seek to prove the sensitivity of their moral and political judgments by the discovery that no one comes to this struggle with "clean hands." As if anyone, individual, nation, or class, ever came to any struggle, no matter how decisive for world history, with clean hands!

Mr. Frank does not answer those who maintain that it is impossible to favor the capitalist democracies in this conflict without finally becoming ourselves involved. I do not criticize him for this omission, for the answer would have carried him beyond the purposes of his book. It is nevertheless important to meet this major argument of our isolationists. He does point out that Britain became involved in this Continental war by its vigorous efforts to stay out of it, a policy which involved British acquiescence in Nazi aggrandizement. We are still trying to prove that we are not a part of Europe, just as Britain tried to prove that it did not belong to the Continent. This policy will have the same fatal results for us as it had for Britain unless an Allied victory, to which we do not want to make any contribution, saves us. We criticize in advance the peace which the Allies will make, in the event of their victory, in order to quiet our conscience. But we haven't begun to face the question of what will become of our "democratic ideals," not to speak of our vital interests, in the event of a Nazi victory. Mr. Frank sees all this very clearly, but he has not fully developed that side of his thesis.

The analysis of modern culture is integrally related to the political analysis in Mr. Frank's book by reason of his conviction that the "cowardice" of what is still left of a democratic world is only partly prompted by the dishonest class interests of the Chamberlains and Bonnets. It is partly prompted by the rationalistic illusions of our modern liberal culture. This culture, for which the foundations were laid in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, is, according to the author, deficient in the "tragic sense of life." It substituted "well-being" as the goal of human effort for the too otherworldly "salvation" of classical religion. But it evidently didn't measure the human problem in sufficient depth or it would not have missed "well-being" so completely. It believed in "the efficacy and autonomy of reason and the goodness of the individual will."

In its optimism and rationalism it failed to gauge the irrational vitalities which lie below the level of reason but frequently make reason their tool and slave. Mr. Frank, though a Marxist in politics, rightly places orthodox Marxism in the category of this bourgeois liberalism. It has only a provisional understanding for the subrational dynamics of life. It believes that reason is corrupted only by class interest and will function purely on the other side of the revolution.

In its individualism, modern culture begins by making the individual an end in himself and ends by losing the individual. It creates "individuals" but not "persons," according to Frank. Here he concurs in an idea developed by the great Catholic philosopher, Jacques Maritain. The individual who feels himself organically related to the whole and achieves dignity only as he becomes the bearer of values greater than himself is a "person." In other words, modern culture does not truly measure either the depths or the heights of human personality. It cannot therefore accurately gauge or anticipate the malevolence to which human conduct may sink or fully understand the mystery of human freedom.

Mr. Frank believes, in short, that modern culture has sadly strayed since it departed from the "Great Tradition." By the Great Tradition he means the prophetic elements in Hebraic and Christian faith. The optimism which was to guide it to Utopia has brought it to an abyss of evil which is beyond its comprehension. The individualism which it asserted against medieval authoritarianism has decayed into capitalistic exploitation or into Marxist collectivism, in which respect for personality can become so debased that Stalinists universally speak of their erstwhile comrades and present foes as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"vermin." In expressing a very great appreciation of this frontal attack on modern culture, it may be wise to introduce a personal note and admit the appreciation comes from a theologian who is also an amateur social philosopher and is extended to a social philosopher who is also an amateur theologian. The "worldlings" may thus properly discount the appreciation. Yet they might profit by reading the book. It might shake the orthodoxy of their "liberalism." For liberalism has hardened into an orthodoxy and seeks desperately to maintain itself in defiance of all the tragic events of contemporary history, which make nonsense of its certainties.

By way of criticism it ought to be mentioned that in Mr. Frank's program of action he works out the program of a new political party which would contain all his cultural as well as political planks. This is not realistic. Despite his justified assertion that a political program which is only political is poor politics, there is no reality in the multi-planked platform of his party. Political parties express themselves against the background of a total culture, but the shift in cultural emphasis is not properly a matter for political parties. No political campaign will ever persuade modern civilization that it has strayed too far from the "Great Tradition." Something more tragic and ineluctable than political contests is necessary, though of course a new cultural orientation would ultimately express itself in the temper and the objectives of political life.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Where Marx Was Right

MARXISM: AN AUTOPSY. By Henry Bamford Parkes. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

THIS is another contribution to the growing critical American literature on Marxism, and one of the most interesting. Dr. Parkes's criticisms of Marxism, especially in its Communist application, are often just, shrewd, and suggestive. Yet the total effect is unsatisfactory. There is no historical approach to Marx: Dr. Parkes himself commits the orthodox Marxist error of considering Marx's ideas as if they were absolute, which in one case leads to Marxology and in the other to misunderstanding and injustice. Nor is there enough separation of Marx from Marxism. Finally, a constructive critic of Marx should remember and specify where Marx was right. While Dr. Parkes occasionally admits that Marx was right, the admission is always qualified—Marx was right but for the wrong reasons, or he made wrong deductions. Scarcely anything is left of the gigantic contribution that Marx made to the social sciences. Yet Dr. Parkes repeatedly performs a curious intellectual sleight-of-hand by accepting ideas that come from Marx and using them to criticize Marx! This book should be read; but it should be read together with Karl Korsch's recently published book, "Karl Marx," an original and brilliant restatement of the ideas of Marx that, despite its limitations, is a major effort to revaluate Marx and to decide where he was right.

Where was Marx right? The writing of history bears eloquent testimony to the influence of his ideas. Dr. Parkes admits that "the Marxist interpretation of history is, in its broad outlines, true." But he destroys the admission with carping reservations, with criticism by means of ideas that Marx himself developed, and with gibes at an economic determinism that was alien to Marx. After denying that ideas are socially conditioned, Dr. Parkes admits the truth of Marx's conclusion when he says it is necessary to "make men conscious of the *social biases and prejudices*" that shape their ideas. It is simply not true that "Marx interprets all human activity in terms of a single basic physical urge—economic needs." Indeed, so true is the opposite that Thorstein Veblen criticized Marx for his "sublimated materialism," a materialism which does not make social progress move "on the material plane of mechanical and physiological stress" but is "sublimated by the dominating presence of the human spirit." Nor was Marx wrong, as Dr. Parkes declares he was, in emphasizing, now material economic factors, and now man's own conscious activity, for that alternating emphasis is revealed by history itself. The historical crisis of our generation arose out of the movement of capitalist production, out of the series of economic changes which now press for a fundamental readjustment of institutions and ideas; but from now on man's own conscious activity must decide whether we move toward a desirable social order, with underlying economic conditions and possibilities acting simply as a limiting factor. Man makes his own history, which is nothing else than the activity of man pursuing his own ends, said Marx: but he makes it out of already existing conditions, not out of conditions chosen by himself.

Where was Marx right? The economists have resisted his influence much more than the historians. Yet Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell, after a bow to orthodox prejudice, says: "Marx saw the central problem of economics in the cumulative change of economic institutions . . . and he showed how vital economic theory becomes when it is attacked from this side, especially if current processes of change are projected into the future." But nothing is granted to Marx the economist by Dr. Parkes, who apparently is not much of an economist. Thus he uncritically accepts Gardiner Means's conclusion that in the depression of the 1930's the fall in the output of goods was determined by whether or not their prices fell, although the determining factor was the cyclical behavior of goods: regardless of price, of monopoly or competition, the output of some goods necessarily falls more than that of others in a depression. On the basis of his misunderstanding of economics and of Marx, Dr. Parkes concludes: "Marx's sketch of capitalist development is, in general, valid up to the time he wrote. Unfortunately, capitalist society began to move in new directions shortly after Marx had published the first volume of 'Das Kapital.'" But those "new directions" confirm, by and large, the theoretical and institutional analyses of Marx, who emphasized the drive of capitalist production toward large-scale industry, decline of the free market and competition, monopoly and finance capital, separation of ownership from management, and economic breakdown.

Marx's labor theory of value is rejected by Dr. Parkes as a factor in price formation. But, for one thing, how can we explain the long-range downward movement of real prices except as a result of lower labor costs brought about by greater productive efficiency? The implications of surplus value and the changing composition of capital are rejected, yet Dr. Parkes writes that "the decreasing importance of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

labor as compared with machinery [capital] . . . decreases the proportion of the gross income of industry which is paid back to labor, and hence it tends to upset the balance between savings for capital investment and spendings on consumption goods"—Marx's own analysis and conclusion used against Marx! Dr. Parkes rejects the theory of the falling rate of profit, yet he accepts the fall in the rate of interest without realizing that the rate of interest is a function of the rate of profit: for if industry finds the interest rate too high it is because the profit rate is too low. And in general Dr. Parkes makes the besetting mistake of considering each theory by itself instead of as a link in the chain of economic causation.

The most amazing criticism of Dr. Parkes is this: "If one studies capitalism in Marxist terms, it is impossible to explain why the system functions or why crises should occur." But that is exactly what Marx does explain. For Marx starts with the accumulation of capital, the making of profits and their transformation into capital, as the dynamic "law of motion" of capitalist production. As profits are transformed into new capital investment, the economic system expands, strategic new consumer purchasing power is created, and production, consumption, and profits all move upward. It is, however, the tendency of capital accumulation to outstrip itself: investment and production increase faster than consumer purchasing power. That ill-balance eventually brings a cyclical crisis, which is overcome by renewed capital investment and expansion. Thus capitalism functions through the increasing accumulation of capital; crises are a relative interruption and limitation of accumulation. The interruption and limitation become absolute when the productive system reaches a high stage of development, when old industries are fully mechanized and new industries are slow to develop; which means that industry is now unable to absorb increasing amounts of new capital and investment demand begins to decline. The deficiency in purchasing power—which Dr. Parkes asserts was neglected by Marx but which is *one* of the links in Marx's chain of economic causation—can now be overcome only if the fall in the rate of profit is accepted, only if industry lowers investment income in favor of consuming income. Out of this situation arises the permanent crisis of capitalism. Some different emphases are now necessary; there are theories that must be reformulated and new angles to be explored, but that is wholly compatible with acceptance of Marx's basic contribution to the understanding of capitalist production. Dr. Parkes rejects that contribution, yet he accepts its major conclusions in their distorted Keynsian forms: capitalist production depends upon investment (accumulation), capital tends to yield decreasing returns (fall in the rate of profit, although Keynes limits the fall to interest), investment income must diminish and consuming income grow if industry is to operate 100 per cent.

Where was Marx right? Reject his identification of socialism with the proletariat; it still remains true that fundamental social change involves a change in class relations and class power. While he rightly rejects the absolute collectivism of orthodox Marxism, Dr. Parkes's "free market" is almost as absolute; he rejects all planning—although he insists on state action to regulate monopoly prices and the interest rate and on recognition of the worker's "property-right" right in his job—and offers a determinist faith in the economic "automatism" of the market to solve the problems of an increasingly complex economic world. A fetishism of the market is no answer to the fetishism of all-inclusive collectivism. It seems to me that a more fruitful approach is this: what measures of collectivism and planning, what element of the market, and what institutional arrangements are necessary to build a more desirable economic order that will promote greater freedom?

LEWIS COREY

The Hamlet of L. MacNeice

AUTUMN JOURNAL. By Louis MacNeice. Random House. $1.50.

AUTUMN is the time when trees cast their leaves; "Autumn Journal" is the record of a man trying to cast his past from him. But it is not so easy for a man as a tree to shed the summer, and though at the end the season has changed and in Spain he sees the white plane trees bone-naked and thinks he sees the issues plain, he is still encumbered by the past. He has made an honest and determined effort to stand forth as bare as he can in the wintry weather. He is disillusioned, but he cannot entirely discard heredity and upbringing. He is still a British oak, not a Spanish plane tree. And the oak is a tree that holds its leaves long after they are sere, discolored, dead.

The autumn which his journal covers is that of 1938. It was a time for examining everything that had brought the English to that pass where, in September of that year, there was nothing for them to do but "To squander principle in panic and self-deception," and let the Czechs go down without fighting. MacNeice feels that his having been born in Ireland gives him an edge on the sentimental English. And perhaps that is why he can put down these reactions after Mr. Chamberlain had appeased Herr Hitler:

> But once again
> The crisis is put off and things look better
> And we feel negotiation is not vain—
> Save my skin and damn my conscience.
> And negotiation wins,
> If you can call it winning,
> And here we are—just as before—safe in our skins;
> *Glory to God for Munich.*

But by the time he reaches Spain he wants to have done with his complacent and "cynical admission of frustration." In Spain he sees what may be the future of England. But that is a perception that cuts two ways.

> The cocks crow in Barcelona
> Where clocks are few to strike the hour;
> Is it the heart's reveille or the sour
> Reproach of Simon Peter?

He does not know. In the midst of remorse he has still that sense which continually afflicts him, of spiritual sloth, of desire for defeat. Spain that was once a great empire, powerful in its possessions, is now a small poor country, at the mercy of greater powers. And to be no more than Spain may be the fate of Britain. But whatever their losses, the Spanish have not lost the essential desire for life that is so much more than the mere keeping alive. And the England that passes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

before us in these pages is an England whose possessions are still many, but whose people give hardly a sign of life.

For those who have inherited a dead culture, with all its burden of living without love an existence that no one loves, to die and lie under a respectable inscription might be a solution. It is not the solution MacNeice is after, though he considers it with sympathy. When a man has repudiated his inheritance, to be or not to be is more than ever the question. The properties of "Autumn Journal" are as up to date as can be; there is not much in the poem that is not contemporary and that little is given a contemporary setting. The mood, too, may be of our time. But it has, for all that it changes, always a counterpart in one or another of Hamlet's soliloquies.

MacNeice's Hamlet is as given to self-accusation as the original. He is all hesitation and doubt; he has come, not from Wittenberg, but from Oxford, and the one advantage, as he explains, of having been to the University of Oxford is that you can never afterward "believe anything that anyone says." He wants to commit some action that will redeem his will, and yet is unable to arrive at anything in which he can whole-heartedly believe. He is as irresolute as Shakespeare's prince, but it is impossible to imagine him, even in the rashness of a moment, stabbing Mr. Chamberlain, who for him plays the part of Polonius. He can wake up knowing that "The bloody frontier converges on our beds," yet do no more about it than Hamlet did after seeing the soldiers of Fortinbras. The one act recorded of him, outside of those strictly necessary for his existence, is going down to Oxford to help win an election, which is promptly lost. He does get rid of his Ophelia, but simply by the process of letting time erase her from his mind. There is a Ghost in his cast. To be accurate, there are many ghosts in the Journal; the soldiers of the last war are brought on, hordes of ghastly apparitions; and they have their effect, which is to increase his ineffectualness. But there is one ghost who pervades the whole poem and prompts its action, and that is the buried majesty of England.

But MacNeice as Hamlet is definitely post-Prufrock and besides is a contemporary of Auden's. He has been influenced by Auden as, I have no doubt, Auden has been influenced by him. But in "Autumn Journal" MacNeice shows that he is not the same sort of poet as Auden. Auden is the poet of the tortured sensibility and at his best has an intensity that MacNeice cannot attain. MacNeice is the ordinary sensual man with an extraordinary endowment for poetic speech. When Auden falls off, he can fall very far indeed; when MacNeice fails to write poetry, he still commands a wholesome racy English. Nobody expects a poem as long as "Autumn Journal" to be all poetry; the alloy that MacNeice uses is solid, even when it seems to have been insufficiently worked. For if the speech in MacNeice is strong, the verse is frequently very weak. He pretends, whenever he has occasion to mention them, to depreciate the wisdom of the classical writers, whose works he must teach for a living. But it is probably because he has them to fall back on that, when he ceases to be a poet, he is still as sound as he is. In his approach to his material and in the shape he has given it he may have found an example in the Horace of the Satires. But it is a Horace whom he has first taken care

A Business Man's Vision of Justice

The Life of Joseph Fels

By MARY FELS

This book tells how a successful business man diagnosed the problem of modern civilization on the basis of laboratory experience providing farm colonies for unemployed workers in England. He found the path of charity beset by two obstacles: The "increment" value of land rose in the vicinity of his colonies, and the resulting high prices prevented the acquisition of adjoining areas; while at the same time, public authorities heavily taxed the farm equipment, housing, etc. And thus, through actual experience, without studying books on economics, Mr. Fels became convinced that both agriculture and business would greatly gain by the transfer of taxation from improvements, machinery, merchandise, etc., to the community-made value of both vacant and occupied ground in country and city alike. This vivid story gives a picture of the economic problem in a wholly new way.

$1.50, booksellers, or

DOUBLEDAY, DORAN & CO.

14 West 49th Street New York, N. Y.

VITAL NEWS *CENSORED!*

As the struggle proceeds in America between the Jesuit-directed campaign for a "Corporate State" and the Protestant democratic Middle Way, the press is beclouding the issue.

If the "Corporate State" is not "sold" to the American people, it will be due in no small degree to action stimulated by PROTESTANT DIGEST and its affiliated organization, The Religious Union for Democracy.

PROTESTANT DIGEST

May Issue Includes:

"Liberalism" Fosters Illiberalism
New York Times and Jesuit Editors
Catholic Action in America
Blockade, USSR and Peace
Purge in the Spanish Church

Send $1.00 for 5-month Subscription

PROTESTANT DIGEST, N
521 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

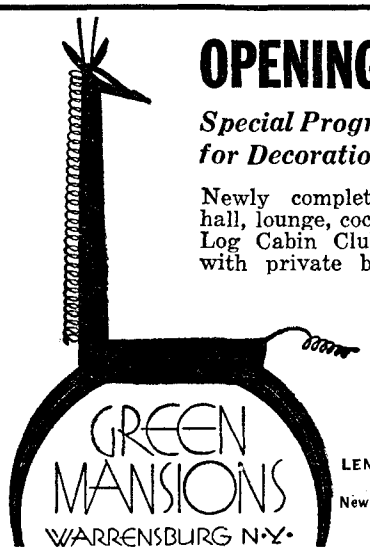
Enclosed is $1. Please enter my subscription for 5 months.

Name.....

Address.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STUDY THE SOUTH
with Charles C. Webber
by joining the FIFTH TRAVELING ECONOMIC SEMINAR
of the
National Religion and Labor Foundation
JULY 2—31
A stirring 30-day itinerary, including Washington, Greenbelt, Arthurdale, Harlan County, the entire TVA, Highlander Folk School, Commonwealth College, Delta Cooperative Farm, southern industrial centers and the sharecropper country.
For details write
WILLARD UPHAUS
106 Carmel Street New Haven, Conn.


OPENING MAY 29
Special Program of festivities for Decoration Day Weekend.
Newly completed theatre, social hall, lounge, cocktail bar, sundecks. Log Cabin Clubhouse, each room with private bath. Private Golf Course on Premises. All Sports facilities.
Attractive June rates include free use of golf course.
GREEN MANSIONS
WARRENSBURG N.Y.
A Modern Camp for Adults
LENA BARISH : SAM GARLEN
Directors
New York City Office: 11 W. 42 St.
Telephone: BRyant 9-1738
Write or phone for booklet

OPENING MAY 20th
9 HOLE GOLF COURSE ON PREMISES
HONEYMOON PARADISE
9 CLAY TENNIS COURTS
8 HANDBALL COURTS
NO GREEN FEES IN JUNE
HALF MILE OF SAND BEACH
Write for Booklet "UM"
In the Heart of the Adirondacks
SCAROON MANOR
HOTEL SCHROON LAKE N.Y.
NEW YORK OFFICES: MU. 2-4083, CO. 7-2471

IT IS YOUR LIFE
Keep Healthy • Stay Young • Live Long
By M. M. ROSENBERG, M.D.
THE HEALTH BOOK OF TOMORROW FOR AMERICANS OF TODAY.
"It is the only book by a doctor," said a famous author and book reviewer, "that I can read with the same interest that I read a novel or biography." Put aside all other reading for a while and inform yourself on the subjects of greatest interest to your own health and life. 23 chapters, 475 pages, price $2.50. At booksellers or send $2.50 (no postage) to THE SCHOLASTIC PRESS, 158 East 22nd St., New York, and the book will be delivered to you.

Buy Your Books Through The Nation
At the request of many readers who reside in communities in which no bookshop has been established, *The Nation* offers to deliver any book to your door at the regular publisher's price (post free) provided payment is received with the order or publisher's price plus postage if sent C. O. D.
Reader's Service Division
The Nation : 55 Fifth Avenue : New York

to bring down to his own level. He despises pumice. For MacNeice has too much of that special post-war conception of honesty to believe it desirable to revise. That would be to return to the past.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP

Revolt of Haru Matsui

RESTLESS WAVE: MY LIFE IN TWO WORLDS. By Haru Matsui. Modern Age Books. $2.50.

DRESSED in kimonos of the same color, Haru Matsui and her Elder Sister lived in the dream world of the old Japan. White petals fell from the cherry tree in the garden in spring. In winter goldfish slept at the bottom of the small pool, covered over with bamboo sticks and thick mats of dry pine needles. Daughters of a professor, they lived the life of secluded Japanese women. Elder Sister conformed and became the kind of woman she was expected to be, polite, courteous, and docile Haru Matsui rebelled.

At first her rebellion was inner. She did not understand why she should not "imitate street performers and sing undignified songs." Finaly her rebellion became active. She visited slums in Kobe. She got a job, but not without difficulty; she learned that women workers may always expect to receive lower wages than men, or none at all.

Finally she went to work for an educational magazine. Here she came in contact with the "new women," whom conventional Japanese feared and abhorred. At last her activities, innocent enough in seeming, such as attending youth meetings, brought her a visit from an intelligence officer. His threat is a mirror of the standards which ruled that first world of Haru Matsui. He said: "If you frequent such meetings, no one will want you for a bride."

In the detention cell of a police station she learned that the safe shell about her dream world was in reality fragile. With thieves and other victims of the social order she spent the night in unheated quarters, under filthy blankets. Her crime was being the acquaintance of a Japanese charged with harboring dangerous thoughts.

Here the crystal dream broke. Though Haru Matsui went back to her accustomed life, it was as a stranger. Later she would come to the United States, break with her father and relatives, live the free life of a woman in America, find love and find work to do. This work has been to lecture in behalf of China.

Such a history is as delicate as the restless wave which gives it a title. It is compounded of the elusive memories of emotion recollected, not in tranquillity, but in crisis. That old world Haru Matsui left was a world of exquisite and balanced forms—at least outwardly. But underneath the formal beauty misery seethed. To the human being not destroyed by formalism, intimations of misery were bound to come; and the human being had to act on her realization of the truth beneath ostensible beauty.

Such is the subject matter of "Restless Wave." It does not purport to be a sociological treatise or an exhaustive history of the feminist movement in Japan. In lyrical, poetic terms it tells the story of a single individual who lived at a turning-point of history and of her response to new social forces.

ELIZABETH MC CAUSLAND

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN BRIEF

THE PLANS OF MEN. By Leonard W. Doob. Yale University Press. $3.

After a consideration of the nature of planning, the author, a member of the Yale Institute of Human Relations, analyzes the main phases of human behavior and their contributions to planning; applies his deductions to existing attempts at planning in the United States and to fascism, communism, and war; and adds a section on the problems involved in planning. The obvious jostles the tentative and controversial, but this is unavoidable in an effort to achieve a comprehensive survey.

THE BLOODY MOHAWK. By T. Wood Clarke. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

This is a well-written, popular history of the Mohawk Valley during the two centuries in which it was the scene of fierce struggles among the Indians, the Dutch, the English, the French, and finally Tories and Patriots. The author, a resident of the valley, uses his local knowledge to vivify rather than to limit his narrative and produces a book of general interest. The pleasant and largely unfamiliar illustrations deserve a word.

PEOPLE: THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF POPULATION. By Henry Pratt Fairchild. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

The former president of the Population Association of America has written a popular and witty volume concerning the lack of balance between births and deaths. Beginning with a brief biological exposition, Fairchild discusses the unparalleled growth of world population since the Industrial Revolution, defends the scientific honor of the Reverend Malthus, explains the significance of some modern techniques of population forecasting, and presents a plea for eugenics. Provisionally, Fairchild advocates a stationary world population. He agrees that overpopulation is a chief cause of war and asserts that it is easier "to hold a population in check than it is to reduce it." He is one of the few writers on demography who stress the deterrent effect of modern capitalism on population growth. It is to his great credit that he utters no warnings concerning the ultimate extinction of the white race. Fairchild is at his best in his lucid exposition of the factors influencing the future of the population of the United States. He is unsatisfactory when he enters such rarified zones as the theory of optimum population and eugenics. "People" will serve as a pleasant, but not very comprehensive, introduction to an absorbing department of the social sciences.

DRAMA

The Riddle of the Sphinx

IN THE plays of Robert Sherwood sincerity and showmanship have often engaged in an uneasy collaboration. Few if any contemporary dramatists are more persistently or more somberly aware of the maladies which afflict us, few if any more skilful in handling the tricks of the trade. It was not, therefore, unreasonable to expect that "There Shall Be No Night," his new play about the war in Finland, would turn out to be an exciting thesis melodrama more or less in the manner of "The Petrified Forest" or "Idiot's Delight." But war is no longer merely a horrible possibility in which it was difficult to believe; it has become a reality in many ways more dreadful than had been imagined; and actuality has sobered a playwright plainly too deeply concerned to contrive merely theatrical effects. The result is that the piece, as currently performed at the Alvin Theater, is palpably sincere, frequently touching, and occasionally exciting. Perhaps no other recent play dealing with any aspect of the world situation has been less blatant, less melodramatic, less prone to rise into falsetto. And yet the impact of the whole is not actually overwhelming, and one leaves the theater with the sense that the play has not really risen to the subject.

This fact is certainly not chargeable to a production characterized everywhere by the same quiet and careful sincerity which marks the writing itself. Neither is it chargeable to admirably restrained and yet vivid performances by a company which includes such fine actors as Richard Whorf and Sidney Greenstreet in secondary roles and which is headed by Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne. Neither of the latter has ever given a more quietly effective performance than that which Mr. Lunt gives as the Nobel prize winner who cannot believe that war will come, despite his conviction that the human race is steadily losing its sanity, and that of Miss Fontanne as his gay American wife, whose heroism rises with circumstances which call it forth. Both bring to their roles an intimate human quality, with overtones of comedy which add enormously to the touching effect of the whole.

If it is not merely that we expect too much, what, then, is responsible for the fact that "There Shall Be No Night" is in some ways disappointing? One may certainly point out that its action is diffuse, that it nowhere gathers itself together in a climax, and that one is perpetually waiting for a scene which never comes, for a scene in which all latent implications will be made manifest and some new clarity given to that complex of thoughts and fears which the action has been recalling to our minds. But probably all this is the result, not of any failure of technical skill on the part of the author, but of two facts: first, that he—like all the rest of us—has nothing to say that seems adequate or has not been said before; second, that so far as the mere presentation of the situation is concerned, a playwright cannot hope to compete directly and successfully with the radio, the newspaper, and the magazine. Everyone capable of comprehending even dimly what is going on in the world has been for two years at least listening with agonized intensity to the dreadful news which has been supplied more quickly, more vividly, and more completely than news of a cumulative calamity has ever been supplied before, and no play can make the news, merely as news, more real or more vivid than it already is. Mr. Sherwood certainly fails less conspicuously than most—perhaps than any—who have tried, but even his play is less dramatic than a year of radio and newspaper.

If he fails also as a philosopher, if he fails, that is, in his attempt to make any newly revealing commentary on the situation or to draw any moral which does not seem as inadequate now as it

War and Peace in Finland

A DOCUMENTED SURVEY

AT LAST, all the *facts* about the Soviet-Finnish conflict in a vivid, authoritative, documented book. Gives the *whole* record, the historical backgrounds of the conflict, its hidden participants, its relationship to an older and larger war, and to the war now going on. 128 pages. Only 25c. By mail, postpaid, from the publishers.

Dept. N. SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY
114 E. 32nd St. New York, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

did when made before, his failure is part of the general failure of civilized and reflective mankind. Near the end his scientist proclaims an optimistic faith: the noise of battle is not, as some believe, the death rattle of civilization; it is only the death rattle of the beast in man. But there is little in the course of the play to make that faith seem more convincing, and if this same scientist does carry conviction when he comments earlier on the monstrous paradox presented by a civilization which has fought death and disease with astounding and ingenious success only to blow to pieces the bodies it has preserved in life and health, he is only reiterating a conviction which few in the audience can fail to have accepted before in almost precisely the same formulation. That paradox quite possibly leads to the *reductio ad absurdum* of our entire civilization. It is the riddle of our sphinx, which perhaps we must solve or die. But no one has ever yet hinted a solution, and, indeed, the one most frequently urged in recent years has only represented the paradox in even more fantastic terms. If Mr. Sherwood could throw any really new light upon it he would be more than a playwright; he would be wiser than any other man living and possibly the saviour of the human race. But he knows only what we all know, and like the rest of us he is baffled.

For the sake of the record I might add that the play has already been the subject of excited newspaper comment, in which it is attacked as propaganda for American participation in the war. Certain incidental remarks made by the characters do seem to suggest pretty clearly that Mr. Sherwood is on that side.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

for the June graduate
. . . the perfect gift

Carl Sandburg's
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
The War Years

4 volumes, boxed, $20

With "The Prairie Years,"
6 volumes in all, boxed, $28

HARCOURT, BRACE & COMPANY
383 Madison Avenue, New York

RECORDS

IN HANDEL'S "Israel in Egypt," given by the Dessoff Choirs at the concluding concert of the New Friends of Music, there are magnificent pages of music, which most of us heard for the first time and may never hear again unless the Dessoff Choirs can be induced to repeat the performance, or one of the record companies, by some miracle, decides to record it. And this performance—unlike the performance of Mozart's Requiem that Victor saw fit to hand down to posterity—is one that merits recording. For what made the occasion outstanding was not only the superb music but the artistic conscience that was evident in every detail of the presentation: the warmth, spirit, sensitiveness in the singing of Mr. Boepple's chorus; the technical competence and excellent musicianship of the soloists; and for once the sound of an orchestra—the little orchestra of the New Friends—playing with interest in the occasion and willingness to contribute all it had, instead of the usual sound of eighty New York Philharmonic men condescending to the occasion and putting a choral conductor in his place. I would add that the inferior portions of the work which are mere adaptations of music by other composers might well be omitted from a recorded performance—or even, for that matter, from a concert performance.

Victor's set of Roy Harris's Symphony No. 3 (M-651, $4.50) recalled to my mind a shrewd observation by Ernest Newman: "The histories and biographies ring with denunciation of an Artusi or a Hanslick for his depreciation of a Monteverdi or a Wagner; but we hear nothing of the critics who blundered even more grievously . . . but blundered in the other direction. For one first-rate work that has been underpraised, a hundred second-rate works have been overpraised; particularly is this true of today." Some of us, then, may be making fools of ourselves by thinking as little as we do of the talents and achievements of Roy Harris and his group; but so may the others who hear in this symphony "music of the bleak and barren expanses of western Kansas, of the brooding prairie night, and of the fast darknesses of the American soul. . . ." And listening to the symphony I am not afraid to take my chances. I'll take them even in the face of the fact that it has been played by Toscanini, and that Koussevitzky is said to have called it the first truly great orchestral work to be produced in America. It is the Harrisites who have talked loudest about the taste that led Toscanini to play Chasins ten years ago and Martucci and Catalani and Bach-Respighi constantly. And I have confidence in my own ability to hear greatness in music and the lack of greatness—to hear also the lack of inner musical impulse, and of any more musical ability than sheer determination needs to contrive a windy incoherence that will stand both for Roy Harris and for the bleak and barren expanses of western Kansas. In the present work, after an opening section in this synthetically unconventional and individual and inaccessible idiom that Harris has adhered to, it is interesting to hear indulgences in types of normal effectiveness—that is, in the prettiness of an idiom no less synthetically contrived out of the conventional pastoral style, and in the sure-fire impressiveness of an *ostinato* figure. The Boston Symphony plays superbly under Koussevitzky; the recording is a little too brilliant, and at one point shortly after the beginning of the second side overcut recording produces a bad rattle.

The Coolidge Quartet's performance of Beethoven's Opus 18, No. 3 (M-650, $3.50) is wholly admirable in musical feeling, phrasing, and technical finish, and is excellently recorded, but it does not attain the sheer incandescence of the two or three years older Budapest Quartet version, and the superiority of the more recent recording is inconsiderable. Tibbett, in the quieter passages of Schubert's "Die Allmacht" and "Der Wanderer," which he has recorded in English (15891, $2), sings with beauty of voice and phrasing, but in the forceful portions he is a bawling operatic baritone, and one with a worn voice. And finally Webster Booth uses his agreeable voice with good musical taste in "If with all your hearts" and "Then shall the righteous shine forth" from Mendelssohn's "Elijah" (12609, $1.50).

In jazz two noteworthy Commodore records are at hand—one (529) offering Jess Stacy's solo improvisations on "You're Driving Me Crazy" and "She's Funny That Way," with Bud Freeman joining in for the middle chorus of the second tune and playing quite well; the other (531) offering an excellent performance of "I Ain't Gonna Give Nobody None of My Jelly Roll" and even better solo work in "Ballin' the Jack" by a small band that includes Joe Bushkin at the piano and, regrettably, George Wettling at the drums.

B. H. HAGGIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Pacifists in War Time

Dear Sirs: Parliament has met the problem of the conscientious objector in this war by setting up fifteen tribunals where the objector is "scrupulously tried." The New York *Times* correspondent recently reported from London that in these courts England's pacifists are permitted "to preach their gospel, to expound their theories, and to argue their freedom."

While this procedure is a great advance over the methods used in the first World War in both Great Britain and the United States, it is far from satisfactory. The National Council for Civil Liberties in London points this out in a report just received, which states that while some of the tribunals are fair-minded in their endeavor to determine whether the applicant's objections are sincere or insincere, others show a serious lack of impartiality, using trick questions and lecturing the men on the unpatriotic nature of the pacifist position.

This brings to mind the machinery set up by President Wilson in 1918 to solve the problem of what to do with our total objectors, the "absolutists" who refused to have anything to do with the military establishment. In June of that year the President issued an order offering "farm furlough" to these men and created a Board of Inquiry which traveled from cantonment to cantonment and questioned every man who professed conscientious scruples against war. Men adjudged sincere were given an opportunity to serve in the non-combatant branches—Medical Corps, Quartermaster Corps, and the Engineering Service—or to accept the farm furlough. Those who refused both were deemed law-breakers and were tried by court martial. Political objectors, men who objected to participation in the current war but who were willing to participate in a class war or revolution, were not given the opportunity to choose. They, the board ruled, were not entitled to any consideration.

The board examined nearly 3,000 men, all but 500 of whom accepted some form of non-combatant service. In these hearings, too, "trick" questions were resorted to. A stock question was: "What would you do if a burglar entered your home and attacked your wife or sister?" If the objector would resist the burglar and try to save his family he admittedly sanctioned force and was not a genuine objector. Other questions were: "What specific passage in the Bible has influenced you?" and "What church do you belong to?" An admission that he belonged to no church or recognized non-resistant sect was sufficient to cause the objector to be adjudged insincere.

It is to be hoped that the British conscientious objectors' tribunals may point the way to a real solution of the problem of the war-time pacifist. The facts that the hearings are open to the public, that the conscientious objector is entitled to counsel and may appeal to a higher tribunal, and that the judges are all civilians are worthy of special note.

LUCILLE B. MILNER

New York, April 30

Secular Education in Danger

Dear Sirs: In the April 6 issue of your magazine, you commented on the McLaughlin bill, recently passed by the New York legislature. I think in all fairness to the Catholics, it should be known that they did not stand alone in their sponsorship of the bill. Many persons of the Protestant faith, of whom Dr. Robert Searle of the New York Federation of Churches was one, fought staunchly for its enactment, as did a small number of Jews.

As for the implications of the bill, it seems highly important that the people of New York City become immediately acquainted with them. It is in direct violation of the age-old American tradition of the separation of church and state. Though innocuous in appearance it paves the way for further and dangerous inroads by the church upon the public-school system. It brings into the school system a sense not of brotherly solidarity but of difference. It will fasten painful attention on any minority group—the small Catholic group in a Protestant neighborhood, the small Jewish group in a Christian neighborhood, the Negro group, and perhaps worst of all, that section of the school population whose parents prefer that they receive no sectarian education.

Aside from all these objections there is the practical administrative difficulty, which all those employed in the school system recognize and fear. A system as large as that of New York City will be completely disrupted by the attempt to regulate curriculums and hours for release, and the added clerical expense will be staggering.

SARA BLOCK,
Chairman Religious Committee,
Teachers' Guild Associates

New York, May 2

Labor Service for Refugees

Dear Sirs: We wish to call the attention of your readers to the plight of German and Austrian refugees who have been given the "opportunity" of joining the French labor battalions to prove their loyalty to France. Here is a letter received by the International Relief Association (2 West 43d St., New York):

March 29. I am one of a group of sixty refugees who were interned in the camp of — last September. Early in February we received orders to leave the following day to work in S—. Before our departure we were given official assurance that we were finally being enlisted in the *Prestation* (Labor Service) and that in accordance with the decree of January 13, 1940, we were to enjoy all the rights of mobilized French soldiers.

For over a month now we have been working in the forest cutting down trees, at road construction, or in supply houses in the town. Despite the fact that we are working for the "national defense," we are not treated any differently than we were in the concentration camp. Indeed, we have not benefited in the least by the *Prestation* legislation, which called for military franchise, soldiers' wages, periodic leaves, tobacco, and compensation and reduction of rents for our families.

Also, we suffer all the consequences of being "interned enemy aliens" especially as regards the sequestering of the meager savings that some of us had before we were interned. No doubt all personal possessions will finally be released, but our families should be able now to make use of these infinitesimal amounts. All belongings deposited in vaults, such as papers, legal documents, etc., have also been seized.

Help us! Demand the application of the *Prestation* laws. The spirit of many of our comrades is breaking.

SHEBA STRUNSKY,
Executive Secretary, I. R. A.

New York, May 3

Victor's Leaflets

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of March 23 B. H. Haggin had some rather sharp things to say about the leaflets that accompany the albums of recorded music by Victor. In his opinion the leaflets

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are pretentious because they deal with the technical aspects of music and contain such erudite things as musical notation.

Mr. Haggin has overlooked the fact that the leaflets also contain a good deal of significant non-technical information. I have purchased a number of these Victor sets and have found the leaflets very helpful. They give me a good deal of information that interests me, and I therefore do not object to the author's going beyond this to deal with more technical points.

Finally, it seems to me that the tone of Mr. Haggin's review was totally unjustified. His last remark, though supposedly witty, had, in my opinion, no place in *The Nation.*

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

New York, April 28

Bow to Mr. Haggin

Dear Sirs: Too often, as I know, readers enjoy without acknowledging. For years I have been reading B. H. Haggin's column on music in your periodical. It has been an invariable pleasure to note the incorruptibility and courage of his opinions, and the intelligence and sensitiveness with which they are expressed.

In the midst of a devastatingly low standard of musical criticism in this country his articles have always stood out for me by reason of their magnificent honesty and their evidence of fine musical sensitiveness and understanding. More power to his pen!

JAMES G. HELLER

Cincinnati, May 1

Indispensable Service

Dear Sirs: The picture service of the New York Public Library is unlike any other in this country. The undersigned have found it indispensable in their profession. Over one million illustrations, photographs, and prints, filed in alphabetical order and by subject matter, have been available to us for research and reference free of charge. The material includes not only reproductions of works of art but photographs of every field of human activity. These documentary pictures are as essential to the creative artist as his colors and his clay.

Since March 1, 1940, lack of funds has made it necessary to close this collection to the public on two days of the week. In addition it has been necessary to shut down two sections of the files, the moving-picture stills and the painting files.

This picture collection has been supported by city funds since it was started. Not only should it be allowed to continue to function, but it should be aided to develop in response to the needs of the largest community of creative artists in the world. We, the undersigned, have therefore appealed to the Mayor of the City of New York and the Board of Estimate to take the necessary steps to insure the normal, full-time functioning of this very important branch of the New York Public Library.

GEORGES SCHREIBER, ADOLF DEHN, WILLIAM ZORACH, REGINALD MARSH, HUGO GELLERT, EDWARD LANING

New York, April 25

CONTRIBUTORS

MILTON S. MAYER is a free-lance writer who has contributed articles on social problems to *Harper's,* the *Atlantic Monthly, The Nation,* and other periodicals.

FRITZ STERNBERG is the author of "From Nazi Sources: Why Hitler Can't Win." He is a frequent contributor to the *Army Journal* in England and the *Infantry Journal* in this country.

MAURY MAVERICK, former Congressmen from Texas, is now Mayor of San Antonio.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor of applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary, delivered the Hibbert Lectures at Edinburgh last year.

LEWIS COREY is the author of the widely discussed series of articles called Marxism Reconsidered, which recently appeared in *The Nation.*

JOHN PEALE BISHOP is the author of two volumes of verse and a novel.

ELIZABETH McCAUSLAND was for many years on the staff of the Springfield *Republican.*

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 55 Fifth Ave., New York. Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, 50 cents. The Nation is idexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs Information Service. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

SUMMER RENTALS

Westport, Conn. — Stonybrook Colony — charming house and bungalow. Swimming, tennis, children's play groups, easy commutation, ideal vacation spot. Also acreage for sale. TRafalgar 7-4679, mornings.

Waiting in Maine

in secluded little colony—perhaps just your style—semi-rustic cottage built by an artistic-minded guy, partly for the fun of making something attractively different, partly for some financial return, possibly to house new-found congenial spirits. On far side of island near Portland, with ferry for autos; near enough civilization for comforts and conveniences, secluded enough for peace, quiet and beauty. Unusually handsome stone fireplace, bath, electricity, etc.; 4 bedrooms, 2 sleeping porches; community club half mile away; ideal base for auto and boat trips in New England. This season, to reasonably careful persons, $300—about half of fair price. Full details and photos if desired. F. T. Whitney, 39 Trinity Place, Boston, Mass.

Charming Farm House—7 rooms, 2 baths; 20 acres. 20 minutes from Compo Beach, Westport, Conn. $550. Long season. Phone MEdallion 3-2380, Dr. Robert L. Leslie.

FOR SALE

Berkshires. Farm Bargains

New roads opening hitherto inaccessible spot between Austerlitz and New Lebanon (near Stockbridge, Mass.). Colonial houses $2,000 up; land $15 acre. Terms. Scenery unexcelled in all New England. Scofield Farm Agency, Chatham, N. Y.

Country Home — Modern 11-room, 12 acres, partly woodland; artesian well, tennis court, Preakness Hills, N. J. One hour from New York City. Owner Miss Haenichen, SHerwood 2-2184.

MAHOPAC FALLS PARK

A Summer Retreat for Discriminating People

One Hour from Bronx

Picturesque Half-acre Plots

— $625.00 —

Lake—Tennis—Social Hall. Illus. Booklet on Request

MAHOPAC FALLS PARK, Inc.

110 W. 40th St., N. Y. LOngacre 5-3916

ROOM WANTED

Refined woman (Jewish) wishes furnished room, kitchen privileges, cultured atmosphere, country, high elevation, summer. Reasonable. Box 1238, c/o The Nation.

LAND FOR SALE

OXFORD, CONN. Four charming wooded acres, accessible clear lake, swimming, 73 miles via parkways. $500. Box 1237, c/o The Nation.

Croton-on-Hudson. Natural unspoiled field, woodland; home site. Acre or more; excellent commuting; modestly priced. Room 1104, 285 Madison Ave., N. Y. CA 5-2133.

FOR RENT

W 95th St. Attractively furnished private room, bath, young lady. Call RIverside 9-4343, evenings.

Scarborough, N. Y. 4-room apartment suitable for two. Enclosed porch commanding beautiful view of Hudson. 45 minutes to N. Y. King, UN 4-5783.

ORANGES FOR SALE

Tree-ripened, sweet, juicy non-sprayed $3.50 per bushel; Mixed Fruit, $3.50; Grapefruit, $3.25. All delivered express prepaid. A. H. Burket, Sebring, Florida.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES

62 cents a line (6 words)

Minimum 3 lines

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED